

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

'Militant' subscription drive ends in success!

— PAGE 5

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 59/NO. 45 DECEMBER 4, 1995

Machinists turn down Boeing pact

BY LISA AHLBERG
AND BOB BRUNEAU

SEATTLE — Cheers of "Strike! Strike! Strike!" erupted as the tellers marched out of the ballot counting room and into the press conference. International Association of Machinists District 751 president Bill Johnson announced, "We still have a labor dispute going on."

The November 21 press conference was interrupted repeatedly by chants of "As long as it takes," "Where's our share?" and "No more lies."

Johnson announced the voting tally. The company's contract proposal was rejected by 61 percent of the membership. Some 23,000 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) voted in Wichita, Kansas; Portland, Oregon; and throughout the Puget Sound in Washing-

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Washington gears up to send troops to Bosnia

BY LAURA GARZA

The Clinton administration is gearing up a major campaign to justify the largest deployment of U.S. troops overseas since the Gulf War. The massive intervention in Bosnia of troops from imperialist nations — primarily the United Kingdom, France, and the United States — is needed to enforce the "peace," according to Washington.

An agreement between the warring parties in the former Yugoslavia was reached in Dayton, Ohio, November 21, under heavy U.S. pressure. It was initiated at the Wright-Patterson Air Force base by Alija Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Croatian president Franjo Tudjman; and Serbian president Slobodan

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After seven-year fight, Mark Curtis wins parole

Worldwide support is key in victory for framed-up unionist

BY NAOMI CRAINE

FORT MADISON, Iowa — "This is a tremendous victory," said Mark Curtis following the decision by the Iowa Board of Parole to release him from prison. "I always knew this day would come, but it wouldn't have happened without all the people who wrote letters, showed up for parole hearings, sold pamphlets about my case, and campaigned for my release."

Curtis has been imprisoned for more than seven years on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. In a hearing at the Iowa State Penitentiary here November 21, the parole board announced that Curtis will finally be released. The board set December 7 to begin the paperwork for his parole; Curtis will be released from jail some weeks later.

The frame-up of Mark Curtis began in March 1988. In the midst of a fight against the arrest of 17 immigrant workers at the meatpacking plant where he worked, Curtis was arrested by the Des Moines, Iowa, police. A longtime union activist and member of the Socialist Workers Party, Curtis was beaten and falsely accused of attempting to rape a Black teenager. He was railroaded to jail in a September 1988 trial.

Curtis has won broad support during the years among unionists, farmers, fighters for social justice, and many others. In the

weeks leading up to the hearing, some 500 letters urging the parole board to release Curtis poured into the office of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines. The *Des Moines Register* called the case an "international cause celebre." Excerpts from a few of the letters appear on page 7.

"This decision by the parole board reflects the pressure generated by the length of time Mark has served, his continued political activity behind bars and refusal to buckle to the attacks of prison authorities, and the international campaign waged on

his behalf," said Mark Curtis Defense Committee coordinator John Studer to a meeting of more than 20 supporters in Des Moines following the hearing.

A small delegation of Curtis's supporters was permitted by prison authorities to attend the hearing. This included his mother, Jane Curtis; his wife, Kate Kaku, who works as a steelworker in Chicago; his attorney William Kutmus; Hollywood director Nick Castle; Kitty Loepker, a member of United Steelworkers of Amer-

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Supporters celebrate in Ft. Madison, Iowa, after parole board decision to release Mark Curtis. From left, Kitty Loepker, Frankie Travis, Kate Kaku, Suzanne Curtis, Hazel Zimmerman, Jane Curtis, Dannen Vance, John Studer, Norton Sandler, Natalie Bombaro, and Nick Castle.

Militant/Naomi Craine

U.S., Japan ties under growing strain

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

SEATTLE — Despite growing protests in Japan demanding "Yankee go home," U.S. vice-president Al Gore, while on an official visit there November 19, reaf-

firmed Washington's determination to keep 47,000 U.S. troops stationed in that Asian country. Gore was in the city of Osaka attending the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum in place of President Bill Clinton.

Gore and other U.S. officials were nonetheless scrambling to respond to the latest shockwaves from the crisis involving the U.S. military presence in Japan.

The latest controversy was sparked by Admiral Richard Macke, commander of all U.S. military forces in the Pacific, who declared that the three U.S. soldiers who raped and brutalized a 12-year-old Okinawan girl September 4 should instead have paid for a prostitute.

At a breakfast meeting with reporters on the morning of November 18, Macke, a four-star admiral, remarked, "I think that it was absolutely stupid, I've said several times," offered Macke. "For the price they paid to rent the car they could have had a girl."

The rape has boosted the opposition throughout Japan to the U.S. military presence there, especially on the island of Okinawa. The vast majority of U.S. forces in Japan are stationed on Okinawa. The admiral's callous justification of sexual exploitation of women only reinforced the deep hatred felt by many Japanese toward the U.S. military brass for their role in organizing centers of prostitution every-

where they set up bases abroad.

Macke's statement was clearly untenable for Washington at this juncture in its relations with Tokyo. By the end of the day, under orders from the White House, he had "resigned."

Washington dumps admiral

Big-business circles in Japan were also wary of the reaction Macke's remarks were bound to provoke there. His resignation was initially reported by Japanese television without mentioning his comments about the rape.

Leading U.S. capitalist politicians openly expressed concern about the impact of this affair on U.S.-Japanese ties. "Can you imagine what this does for relations between our countries now?" asked Senator Joseph Biden, a ranking Democrat. "If they were bad before, what do you think will happen now?"

Biden and other U.S. political figures had reason to be concerned. Gore's visit fell short of Washington's goal of a joint reaffirmation with Tokyo of the U.S.-Japan security treaty that allows U.S. bases to remain there.

The Japanese government, responding to public pressure and to some doubts in ruling circles over the arrangements that have been in place for decades, declined to issue such a declaration.

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Gov't, rail bosses at fault in fatal Chicago crash — page 13



French gov't to cut welfare

A number of unions in France have called a one-day national strike on November 28 in response to government proposals to cut social welfare programs. On November 15 the National Assembly approved measures proposed by Prime Minister Alain Juppé on spending cuts to eliminate a \$51 billion budget deficit, which capitalist politicians attribute to social programs. The government has chosen to attack social benefits as it tries to lower the public deficit below 3 percent of the gross domestic product, a precondition for joining the European Monetary Union, planned for 1999.

Included in the plans are major cuts in social security and health-care spending, taxes and means testing for health insurance, and an increase in the number of years workers must make pension contributions. In addition, a one-half percent levy on nearly all income was put in place for 13 years to cover previous debts.

In addition to the union-called demonstrations, student sit-ins and protests are occurring in a number of universities to demand increased government financial assistance and teachers. One student union has called for a "national day of action" on November 21.

German union to curb demands

The IG Metall union agreed at its annual congress to refrain from seeking better wages for its members in hopes of creating more jobs. Klaus Zwickel, the union's president, said IG Metall would only seek to keep wages in line with inflation. The federation would ask in exchange that employers create 300,000 jobs in three years and return 30,000 long-term unemployed to the workplace.

Joblessness currently stands at 9.4 percent in Germany. Investments by German companies outside the country have doubled in the first half of this year compared to 1994. Membership in IG Metall has dropped an average of 10,000 members a month since 1992, down to 2.9 million.

Walesa loses election in Poland

Preliminary results from Poland's presidential elections, which took place

November 19, showed that President Lech Walesa lost his bid for re-election. Aleksander Kwasniewski, candidate of the Left Democratic Alliance — successor of the former ruling Communist Party — appeared to be the winner with 51.4 percent of the vote. During his re-election effort, Walesa campaigned fervently for joining the European Union and NATO, accelerating Poland's attempted integration into the world capitalist market, and maintaining the ban on abortion. He irked even some of his backers when he told a journalist who asked him about his opposition to abortion, "If abortion had been legal, you would probably have gone down the drain."

Kwasniewski presented himself as a social democrat with economic and foreign

policy proposals similar to Walesa. His Left Democratic Alliance had won control of parliament in elections two years ago. In the last 18 months former Communist Parties have won parliamentary elections in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Slovakia.

Slovakia bans other languages

The Slovak parliament passed a law November 15 banning other languages. The ban will seriously affect Hungarians, who make up more than 10 percent of Slovakia's population of 5.5 million.

The law stipulates that all public servants must speak Slovak and all public ceremonies except weddings must be done in that language. All signs, advertisements, and announcements must be made in "the state language." Penalties include fines up to \$2,000 for individuals and \$20,000 for businesses in a country where the average yearly wage is less than \$4,000.

Palestinians cheer Israeli pullout

Thousands of Palestinians turned out to celebrate the end of the Israeli military occupation of the city of Jenin in the West Bank on November 19, a few days after the troops pulled out of the city. Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) head Yasir Arafat addressed the cheering crowd. Arafat also chaired a meeting of Jenin's new self-rule council. Five more cities are scheduled to be handed over from Israeli to Palestinian control before late January, when elections for a Palestinian self-rule authority are scheduled.

Meanwhile, supporters of Hamas in Gaza announced they will form a political party to participate in the elections. They plan to call the party Salvation, or National Islamic Party, which will run on a platform centered on political opposition to the Israel-PLO accords.

Egyptian embassy bombed

A suicide bomber drove an explosive-laden truck into the gate of the Egyptian embassy in Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, on November 19. The explosion killed 15 people, including an Egyptian diplomat, and wounded 59 others. Three groups claimed responsibility, including the Islamic Group, which, according to Cairo, has led a three-and-a-half-year campaign of terrorist attacks to overturn the regime of President Hosni Mubarak.

Press reports in Pakistan allege that a number of Egyptians opposed to the Mubarak regime live in that country. Last year, the two regimes signed an extradition agreement. Since then, Islamabad has deported a number of Egyptian nationals.

Dock, mine strikes in Australia

A five-day national dockworkers' strike began November 17, called by the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU). The mining unions, meanwhile, launched a two-day work stoppage at the CRA group's coal mines and announced that all the country's coal mines would be shut down for seven days beginning November

21. Workers are protesting a push by the companies to change from union-negotiated "award" wage payments to individual contracts with workers. A number of workers said they were being discriminated against under the new system.

Last-minute meetings between the union and the company failed to resolve the conflict. An ACTU spokesperson said the issue concerned "basic principles we've been stressing all along — equal pay for work of equal value and non-discrimination among workers."

Roh Tae Woo arrested

The South Korean government arrested former president Roh Tae Woo November 16 and charged him with accepting multimillion-dollar bribes. In October Roh admitted he had amassed a \$650 million slush fund while he was president from 1988 to 1993. He initially claimed the funds came from political contributions, but investigators turned up evidence of widespread bribery involving South Korea's largest business conglomerates.

Bourgeois opposition leader Kim Dae Jung admitted he received \$2.5 million from Roh during his unsuccessful 1992 presidential campaign. He claimed Kim Young Sam, who won the election, received much more money from Roh. The president denied getting funds from Roh. Prosecutors have said a number of business executives may face charges. As he was being taken to prison, Roh pleaded for leniency for the businessmen, saying he accepted full responsibility.

—DEREK BRACEY



Militant/Martin Anderson
Chanting "Abacha and Shell murder for oil" and "No blood for oil," some 150 people, mainly Nigerian refugees, rallied at the Nigerian embassy in New York November 15. They were protesting the executions of nine activists by Gen. Sani Abacha's military regime, carried out with Shell Oil's complicity.

THE MILITANT

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Every week the 'Militant' brings you the news about struggles against police brutality, rampant racism, and frame-ups—from Los Angeles to Des Moines and Pittsburgh. The 'Militant' also explains why this conduct by the police is inherent to capitalism, why under this system a cop...is a cop...is a cop.

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The Militant

Vol. 59/No. 45

Closing news date: November 24, 1995

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Published weekly except for one week in December and three weeks in July by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 924-6040.

The Militant can be reached via CompuServe at: 73311.2720 or via Peacenet at: themilitant

Internet: 73311.2720@compuserve.com or: themilitant@igc.apc.org

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Subscriptions: U.S.: for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address. Latin America, Caribbean: for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By

first-class (airmail), send \$80. Asia: send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Canada: Send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to Militant, 4581 St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec H2J 2L4. Britain, Ireland: £36 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Continental Europe, Africa, Middle East: £40 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. France: Send FF300 for one-year subscription to Militant, 8 allée Berlioz, 94800 Villejuif cheque postale: 25-465-01-S, Paris. Belgium: BF 1,900 for one year on account no. 000-1543112-36 of 1Mei Fonds/Fonds du 1 mai, 2140 Antwerp. Iceland: Send 5,000 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to Militant, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark: 500 Swedish kronor for one year. Pay to Militant Swedish giro no. 451-32-09-9. New Zealand: Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. Australia: Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000, Australia. Pacific Islands: Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

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20,000 U.S. troops are readied for Bosnia

Continued from front page

Milosevic. The accord is designed to codify the partition of Bosnia, with 49 percent of the territory going to the Belgrade-backed Serb forces and 51 percent to be held by the shaky alliance of the Croatian and Bosnian governments. The parties are set to formally sign the accords in Paris November 29.

Washington is now preparing to move ahead with its plan to impose the implementation of the agreement with up to 60,000 troops, including 20,000 from the United States, under NATO command.

U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher touted the accord as "a victory for all those who believe in a multi-ethnic democracy," asserting that it maintains a unified Bosnia. But the agreement is built on holding to the current division of Bosnia, a recent configuration resulting from successful offensives by Croatian and Bosnian government forces to retake land held by the Belgrade-backed Serbs. Washington gave tacit support to the offensives, which followed a NATO bombing campaign against Serb-held positions.

Under the accord, Bosnia will have two armies — one under Serb chauvinist leaders Radovan Karadzic and Gen. Ratko Mladic, and another belonging to the

Bosnian-Croat federation — in addition to the NATO occupation force.

The agreement leaves towns recently overrun by Karadzic's troops under their control. These cities include Srebrenica and Zepa, previously United Nations-designated "safe havens," where tens of thousands of Muslims were driven out in July and thousands of people were murdered. Gorazde, a town controlled by the Bosnian government but surrounded by territory held by Belgrade-supported Serbs, will remain under Bosnian control with an access corridor to Sarajevo.

The federation of Tudjman and Izetbegovic will continue to control the city of Sarajevo, but some areas on the outskirts of the city will remain under control of Karadzic's troops.

Milosevic, ostensibly the authorized representative for Karadzic and Mladic, received a promise that the trade sanctions against his government would come to an end if an agreement was reached. According to reports in the media, the UN Security Council is supposed to move quickly to suspend the sanctions, and to gradually lift the arms embargo on the six republics of the former Yugoslavia.

Milosevic also agreed on November 12 to eventually give up control of Eastern Slavonia, Croat territory seized by Belgrade's troops in the fall of 1991. The agreement provides for a transition period of up to two years before it is completely turned over to the Croatian government, which by now has retaken almost all the territory it had when it declared independence in 1991.

Reluctant 'allies'

The Croatian army now also holds many towns in Bosnia, and Tudjman and Izetbegovic are reluctant allies in the so-called federation. The U.S. government

made it clear it opposed any new attempt by either the Bosnian or the Croatian government to take territory and that international financing, as well as the end of the arms embargo against Bosnia, would depend on their agreeing to the federation.

Washington initially dangled an offer to even out the military balance of forces in the area by giving arms and training to the Bosnian government. After strenuous objections by European governments, Nicholas Burns, a State Department spokesperson, explained that the current U.S. position is to "build down" toward a military balance, presumably by pressuring the Bosnian Serb forces to rid themselves of some of their heavy arms. The difficulty in getting agreement on this stems from the divergent interests that Washington, Bonn, Moscow, and other international powers have in the region.

The agreement bars those indicted for war crimes from holding office in any newly elected posts. Both Karadzic and Mladic have been indicted by a United Nations war crimes tribunal. But the indictments don't guarantee any action. During the Ohio negotiations, the chief of staff of the Bosnian Croat militia, Tihomir Blaskic, was indicted for crimes against humanity, only to be promoted the next day by Tudjman.

The NATO plan will divide its forces into three sectors, with the U.S. forces headquartered in Tuzla; the British at Gornji Vakuf; and the French in Sarajevo. The overall commander of the so-called implementation force will be U.S. admiral Leighton Smith.

While 20,000 is the number commonly cited for U.S. forces, this only counts those to be used directly in Bosnia. Thousands more will be involved in the operation from Croatia and Hungary, and from air and naval stations offshore and based

in other countries.

Moscow agreed to station troops under U.S. command, in an effort not to be technically under direct NATO command.

The Bosnia deal is heightening the debate in U.S. ruling circles over military intervention in the Balkans, reflecting the fear of the response that could be provoked by U.S. casualties and the shaky prospects for making the deal stick.

Debate among U.S. rulers

Clinton released a letter in answer to questions by Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich in which he said it would be a disaster not to follow through on his commitment to deploy U.S. ground forces. They would be sent in only after "we have created the conditions that would offer the minimum risks to our soldiers," Clinton declared. He added, "It is not possible to make meaningful casualty predictions since casualty models for peace operations do not exist."

The president made it clear that while he would try to convince Congress and others to fall in line behind the plan, he would exercise his "constitutional prerogatives" to begin the deployment. Only the previous week, the House of Representatives had voted to bar spending to send U.S. troops to Bosnia.

Even as the deal was being forced through, those who are supposed to abide by its provisions made it clear it is far from a done deal. The former mayor of Vukovar in Eastern Slavonia, Slavko Dokmanovic, predicted the accords would fail and said, "I tell you, Eastern Slavonia is Serbian and will remain Serbian."

Recent reports cite ample evidence that the Yugoslav Army had been moving supplies to Karadzic's troops and technicians had replaced communications links recently blown up by NATO warplanes.

CORRECTIONS

In the article reporting on the death of Ed Shaw in issue no. 44, his surviving sister was misidentified. Her name is Carol Bachler.

In the same issue an editorial on the fight to win parole for Mark Curtis misidentified the owner of the packinghouse in Grand Island, Nebraska, where an important union representation victory occurred last year. It is owned by Monfort.

Fund drive: two weeks to go and \$37,000 to collect!

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

BROOKLYN, New York — First of all, a word is in order to celebrate the success of the campaign to sell subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. These socialist papers are now getting into the hands of 2,600 new readers. And to those readers: welcome!

Now this victory can be put to good use by parlaying it into the campaign to raise \$125,000 for these two socialist publications.

In the past week, readers of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in many cities shifted into high gear and increased their collection of contributions to the Militant Fund. This is reflected in this week's chart. We've started to close the gap, standing at 76 percent of the international goal — and we should be at 80 percent.

Now we're in the final stretch to December 3. Every day, every dollar, and every contributor counts.

The campaign got a boost from several fund-raising events. One recent highlight was Los Angeles, where 65 people attended a Militant Fund rally. The speakers at the event reflected the breadth of support for the socialist press.

Joseph Harvey, vice president of the Irish Northern Aid chapter in Los Angeles, commented on how the *Militant* "opened up my eyes to many things" including the Detroit newspaper strike and the Quebec independence struggle. Alejandra Rebeles, a new subscriber of the *Militant* who is a high school student and member of the Young Socialists, remarked that "reading the *Militant* I found out that I'm not alone. People in Canada, Africa, and Mexico are fighting too." Suopan, a Thai student at California State University in Los Angeles, was introduced to the socialist press at a table on his campus. "The *Militant* is one of the magnificent tools I use to train myself in politics," he said. "It and *New International* offer workers an alternative."

José Morales, a young welder who explained how he relies on *Perspectiva Mundial*, gave an unabashedly bold fund pitch, speaking in Spanish with English translation. When the total pledges raised

came a little short of \$10,000, Morales returned to the podium during the meeting and elicited the necessary pledges to put Los Angeles supporters above their local goal. By the end of the evening they had also raised a whopping \$3,300 in cash and checks.

Following a successful fund-raising event in Peoria, Illinois, on November 12, *Militant* supporters in that area have raised their goal to \$2,400. The three speakers at the fund event there were Reid Craig, a student at Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois; Nick Clark, a student at the University of Missouri in St. Louis and a member of the Young Socialists; and Norton Sandler, a socialist from Des Moines, Iowa.

The audience included several members of the United Auto Workers on strike against Caterpillar and eight college students from a number of campuses.

The *Bradley University Scout*, the campus newspaper of Bradley University in Peoria, covered the event with an article titled "Socialist Leader Explains Ideology." It reports, "The enemy is capitalism, which puts the profits of wealthy millionaires over the rights of the working people," said Sandler, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. The article also quotes Craig, who stressed, "The *Militant* doesn't just point fingers. It points to the problem so we can read it and deal with it."

The scoreboard includes several additions this week. *Militant* promoters in Albuquerque, New Mexico, have adopted a goal of \$600; supporters in Cincinnati a goal of \$250; and international support grows with the addition of Mexico and a goal of \$300 from supporters in France.

Let's step up the pace and keep the money rolling in! If we keep reaching out widely to supporters of the socialist press, by December 3 we can definitely reach not only the \$125,000 goal but the \$130,000 in total pledges — which is the amount actually needed to keep publishing for the next year.

Carole Lesnick from Los Angeles and Dannen Vance from Peoria contributed to this article.

\$125,000

End of week eight

Militant Fund

	Goal	Paid	Percent
\$125,000			
Mexico	\$60	\$60	100%
Puerto Rico	\$100	\$100	100%
Australia	\$400	\$376	94%
France	\$300	\$244	81%
\$95,000			
New Zealand			
Auckland	\$2,470	\$1,661	67%
Christchurch	\$650	\$759	117%
Wellington	\$80		
New Zealand Total	\$3,200	\$2,420	76%
\$85,000			
United States			
Philadelphia	\$6,000	\$6,075	101%
Twin Cities	\$7,000	\$6,555	94%
Los Angeles	\$10,000	\$8,827	88%
Pittsburgh	\$5,000	\$4,415	88%
Atlanta	\$4,500	\$3,742	83%
San Francisco	\$10,000	\$8,270	83%
Cincinnati	\$250	\$200	80%
Peoria	\$2,400	\$1,879	78%
Cleveland	\$2,100	\$1,582	75%
Birmingham	\$3,700	\$2,727	74%
Newark	\$8,000	\$5,882	74%
Seattle	\$7,000	\$5,115	73%
Morgantown	\$2,600	\$1,863	72%
Houston	\$4,250	\$3,030	71%
Salt Lake City	\$3,800	\$2,662	70%
Miami	\$2,600	\$1,775	68%
New York	\$7,500	\$5,087	68%
Greensboro	\$2,100	\$1,400	67%
Chicago	\$7,500	\$4,945	66%
Brooklyn	\$8,000	\$5,208	65%
Denver	\$500	\$300	60%
Des Moines	\$3,200	\$1,883	59%
Boston	\$5,000	\$2,800	56%
Albuquerque	\$600	\$300	50%
Detroit	\$6,750	\$3,145	47%
Washington, DC	\$3,000	\$1,177	39%
Other		\$620	
U.S. Total	\$123,350	\$91,465	74%
\$65,000			
Britain			
Manchester	\$375	\$376	100%
London	\$525	\$30	6%
Sheffield	\$150	\$157	105%
Britain Total	\$1,050	\$563	54%
\$45,000			
Canada			
Vancouver	\$200	\$172	86%
Montreal	\$1,050	\$89	8%
Toronto	\$1,500	\$5	0%
Canada Total	\$2,750	\$266	10%
\$35,000			
Greece	\$130		
Sweden	\$750		
Int'l Other		\$101	
TOTAL	\$132,090	\$95,595	76%
Should Be	\$125,000	\$100,000	80%

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Nelson Mandela gets rousing reception in New Zealand

BY BRIGID ROTHERHAM

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — "South Africans have at last won the right to determine their own destiny. Together we have fought the good fight and won in the streets, in the negotiations, and in the elections."

With these words South African president Nelson Mandela addressed a meeting of anti-apartheid activists on November 13, at the start of a visit to this country which saw thousands of people turn out to greet him, evidence of the enormous respect he commands.

The three-day state visit followed Mandela's attendance at a meeting of British Commonwealth leaders held in the city. More than 450 packed into a church that had been an organizing center against the tour of a South African rugby team in 1981. Another 100 were outside and heard his speech broadcast on a loudspeaker system.

Taking the opportunity to thank those who had participated in the campaign against apartheid, Mandela also outlined the challenges facing South Africa today.

"The war against the legacy of apartheid has just begun," he said. "The ascendancy of the democratic forces in our country has laid bare the mess that apartheid has wrought on our society. Many of our people have no real homes and they do not know where their next meal will come from."

"Within the government the consequences of apartheid mismanagement stand out in bold relief in the form of a large foreign debt, a bloated bureaucracy and other concerns."

"The ANC-led Government of National Unity," the South African president continued, "has started in earnest to deal with these problems. We have irreversibly established a human rights culture and the institutions to ensure that freedom has real meaning for ordinary citizens."

"We have started to tackle the socioeconomic problems facing the majority of the people and our policies have started to make a positive impact on economic

growth, inflation and investment. We have as a nation cemented our unity in the spirit of reconciliation."

Mandela was the guest speaker next day at the 125th anniversary celebrations of the Parliamentary Press Gallery. "We as a nation," he said at that event, "are engaged in ongoing debate in our country on how to give freedom of expression real meaning. If this is to be the case, people should not only have the right to hear what others say, but also themselves be heard. Only in this way can they become active participants in changing their lives for the better."

Nelson Mandela described the highlight of his trip as the rapturous welcome that he received when he visited the Turangawaewae Marae at the invitation of the Maori Queen, Dame Te Atairangikaahu. More than 3,000 people crowded into the small North Island town of Ngaruawahia for the day.

The event included hundreds of school children lining the streets, many waving palm leaves.

Inside the marae people listened intently as Mandela explained that his delegation felt "truly welcome among our brothers and sisters.... Our two countries have much in common. Both have known the pain of conquest, dispossession, and

oppression.

"As a people who have known deprivation we do appreciate your efforts to redeem a past of dispossession and social dislocation that colonization has wrought on your community."

Two Pacific independence campaigners, Oscar Temaru from Tahiti and Govee Moise from New Caledonia, were among those who lunched with Mandela on the marae.

He also received an enthusiastic welcome when he arrived in the capital city of Wellington November 15 to meet with the government and attend a state luncheon.

Three thousand people gathered outside the parliament buildings where he took time to greet some of parliament's waiters, security guards, clerical staff, and journalists as well as legislators.

Prior to his official tour, 200,000 people attending a fireworks concert on November 12 in Auckland, welcomed Mandela with sustained applause when he arrived as guest of honor and briefly addressed the crowd.

A collection was taken there for irriga-



South African president Nelson Mandela

tion projects in South Africa. The New Zealand government has since announced that it will match the \$NZ150,000 raised from individual donations.

Brigid Rotherham is a member of the Meat Workers Union in Auckland.

Nigeria hangings dominate Commonwealth

BY EUGEN LEPOU AND JANET ROTH

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — Two political issues dominated the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (Chogm) held here November 10-14: the executions of nine political activists in Nigeria and French nuclear testing in the Pacific.

The presence of South African president Nelson Mandela at the meeting, and his subsequent state visit, was the focus of popular attention as thousands took the opportunity to celebrate with him the de-

feat of the apartheid regime (see accompanying article).

The British Commonwealth consists of 52 countries, the overwhelming majority of which are former colonies of the United Kingdom. London dominates proceedings, alongside its imperialist cohorts from Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. South Africa has just been readmitted, after a 33-year absence due to the apartheid policies of its previous governments.

Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight of his associates were hanged by the Nigerian regime in the middle of the Commonwealth sum-

mit, as Nigerian human rights activists, including his son, lobbied heads of governments for a stay of execution. Saro-Wiwa was a leader of the campaign by the Ogoni people in Nigeria against Shell Oil for its environmental destruction in their region.

Presenting itself as a force for human rights and democracy, Chogm suspended Nigeria from the Commonwealth for two years.

In the days following the meeting, Mandela and New Zealand prime minister Jim Bolger led calls for Commonwealth countries to impose economic sanctions against Nigeria.

The summit also issued a statement condemning nuclear testing that British prime minister John Major refused to endorse. His stand was the focus of a November 9 anti-nuclear rally by 2,000, as protest organizers called on Major to oppose nuclear tests in the Pacific.

Among the speakers at the rally were Oscar Temaru, an independence leader in French Polynesia, where the nuclear tests are being conducted, and Sam Shilowa of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The Chogm conference venue became the site of other protests around a range of political issues. Tamils from Sri Lanka demonstrated in support of self-determination and in opposition to the war being conducted by the Sri Lankan government against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

In a counter-protest, members of the United Sri Lanka Association marched to show their support for the government and condemn the Tamil Tigers.

Some 200 Sikhs condemned human rights abuses by the Indian government in Punjab and called for the state's independence.

The *New Zealand Herald* reported October 10 that Indian human rights groups have accused police in Punjab of secretly cremating at least 3,000 people between 1992 and 1994, after torturing and killing them. The Sikh protesters were joined by Kashmiris calling for that state's independence.

Supporters of Irish self-determination targeted John Major while gay rights activists focused their fire on Zimbabwe president Robert Mugabe, who has described homosexuals as perverts who have no rights.

Protests in favor of Maori rights and against the New Zealand government's economic policies also occurred.

Eugen Lepou is a member of the Meat Workers Union. Janet Roth is a member of the United Food, Beverage and General Workers Union.

Cuban youth leaders speak in Montreal

BY VICTORIA MERCER AND MICHEL PRAIRIE

MONTREAL — "Before coming to this meeting, I didn't understand much about the Cuban revolution and the U.S. blockade. Here, it was clearly explained. If I had known more, I would have gone to [the October 21 demonstration against the embargo in] New York City. Now I want to get more involved."

This is how Véronique Landry summarized her reaction to a November 17 meeting here of 150 addressed by Joel Queipo and María del Carmen Barroso, two Cuban revolutionary youth on a three-week tour across Canada.

Landry is a student at the Vieux-Montréal pre-university college (known as a *cegep*). She is part of Optimonde, a special academic project organizing students to visit third world countries where they share the lives of ordinary families. The next country they will visit is Cuba. In October, 20 students from this school made the 15-hour bus trip to New York to be part of a 3,000-strong regional demonstration against Washington's economic war on Cuba.

Queipo is a member of the National Secretariat of the Cuban Federation of University Students and Barroso is a leader of the Union of Young Communists. They visited the Montreal area November 12-19, speaking on "Youth and the Cuban Revolution Today."

Altogether they spoke to audiences totaling more than 400. They addressed five public meetings, including at McGill University and the Dawson, Edouard-Montpetit and Vieux-Montréal *cegeps*. They met with 30 strikers doing their weekly picket duty at the Kenworth truck assembly plant in Ste.-Thérèse, north of Montreal. And they had dinner with a dozen immigrant workers from Stylecraft, a manufacturer of wristwatch bands. Both groups of workers are organized by the

Canadian Auto Workers union.

"We are building socialism," said Queipo at the November 17 meeting. "If you want to know what capitalism would be in Cuba, look at Haiti and the Dominican Republic." The difference can be measured by the fact that "Cuba is a third world country. Our imports have been cut by more than 50 percent. Our raw resources are few. But we continue to defend education and health care for all working people. We even increased the budget allocations in these areas."

One of the main aspects of their visit was explaining and answering questions about the steps — like increasing tourism and foreign investment, and legalizing the possession and circulation of foreign hard currency — taken by the Cuban government to confront the "special period." This the name given by the Cubans to the deep economic crisis precipitated five years ago by the collapse of the preferential trade relations that Cuba had with the former Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries.

Queipo described the measures the Cuban government has taken, such as legalizing the use of foreign currency and increasing foreign investments, as necessary to deal with an economic decline triggered by the collapse of aid and trade at preferential prices from the former Soviet Union.

At the Kenworth picket line, one striker described the daily living conditions of Cubans as deplorable, judging from her own visit there as a tourist.

Queipo answered, "Let me use myself as an example. I have a university degree. My family lives in a modest but comfortable house. I am Black. Before 1959, my family lived in very difficult conditions because of racial discrimination. It is because of the revolution that everyone has the same opportunity to live a decent life."

If that is the case, asked a student at the

Dawson *cegep* meeting, why do so many people want to leave Cuba?

"Many people leave Cuba for the same economic reasons as in other third world countries," answered Barroso. When "the economic situation became very difficult, many Cubans were not ready to support that."

"But for many years," she added, "the U.S. government encouraged people to leave Cuba illegally. There are as many immigrants from Haiti who go to the United States. But Washington uses the emigration from Cuba to create a scandal out of the revolution because we defend our dignity and our socialist revolution."

In every meeting there were many questions about the reappearance of prostitution in Cuba.

"With the intensification of the special period," said Barroso, "we lack things that tourists can bring with them or buy with dollars in Cuba. These young women do it to get goods that Cuba is not able to provide."

"We are doing an intense ideological work to explain that they don't need to prostitute themselves in order to survive. What they obtain is not worth the dignity they lose," she added.

At the end of a wrap-up meeting with the committee organizing the visit, Queipo was asked by a tour activist what struck him the most in his first visit to a capitalist country.

"I was surprised," he answered, "to see that in such a rich country like Canada, they close hospitals and plants without any explanation. Coming here has been a deeper experience than any book or movie to understand what is capitalism."

Victoria Mercer is a member of the Young Socialists. Michel Prairie is a coordinator of the Montreal Cuban Youth Tour Committee. Monica Jones, a striker at Kenworth, contributed to this article.

Reach out for new readers!

End of the Militant subscription drive

	Goals	Final Results	%
Militant	1,950	1,971	101%
Perspectiva Mundial	525	652	124%
New International	750	780	104%

S E P T E M B E R 2 3 - N O V E M B E R 1 9

Sales drive ends in success!

BY LAURA GARZA

With a flurry of activity and subscriptions being mailed and faxed in up to the last minute we reached all the goals in the international drive to win new subscribers to the socialist press.

The final tally for *Militant* subscriptions is 1,971 just above 100 percent of the goal.

Sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* were higher than expected from the beginning in many areas. This trend continued to the end, resulting in 652 *Perspectiva* subscriptions, or 124 percent of the goal.

Distributors also sold 780 copies of *New International* in the four languages the Marxist magazine is edited in — 104 percent of the goal.

A race to the finish

A preliminary tally at 6:00 p.m. on Monday, November 20, put us just 10 subscriptions shy of the *Militant* goal and a few dozen short on the *New International*.

The *Militant* editor sent a quick fax to distributors around the world with the results, which generated a rapid response.

Along with updated totals, subscriptions were sent in by airline workers, rail workers, and others just getting off their shifts. By the time we updated totals the next morning we were over the top.

In the last week of the campaign, socialist workers and youth cast an especially wide net. The following are some of the highlights from sales stories we received in the final days of the drive.

Puerto Rico team's success

A team to Puerto Rico was among the most successful. *Militant* supporters from five cities in the United States — Brooklyn, Chicago, Miami, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. — joined Ron Richards, a reader on the island, and sold 39 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, 3 to the *Militant*, and 12 copies of *New International*.

Seth Galinsky, a rail worker from Miami, was on the team. He reported they set up a literature table at the annual festival sponsored by the pro-independence newspaper *Claridad* and at the University of Puerto Rico.

In addition to subscriptions, more than 50 Pathfinder books and pamphlets were sold during the four-day festival, which attracted thousands. Twelve people attended a house meeting to discuss socialist ideas.

Detroit pulls out all stops

A reader from Detroit described a typical account of what happened at the end of the subscription drive. The countdown chart supporters had put up changed rapidly over the last few days of the drive, especially on Friday, November 17.

That evening "reports of the

previous night's sales came in," the reader wrote. "New *Internationals* were sold to a coworker at a United Auto Workers—organized plant, a Guatemalan unionist in Canada, and a Palestinian activist. Then a team brought in two more *Militant* subscriptions from Eastern Michigan University in Ypsilanti.

"Soon afterwards another team

Mundial subscriptions with a visit to Oeonta, Alabama, where hundreds of Mexican workers live. Their *New International* sales total was boosted by one University of Alabama student in Birmingham who bought all 10 issues of the magazine because she wants to find out more about the Socialist Workers Party.

A South Korean student bought



Militant/Margrethe Siem

More than 700 participated in a November 18 march called by the Latino Coalition for Social Justice in New York City. The march protested police brutality, demanded justice for immigrant workers, and opposed cuts in social services. Participants bought four *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions and six copies of the Marxist magazine *New International*.

arrived, after a day at Bowling Green State University in Ohio. A campus organization called Womyn for Womyn had invited them to display the publications, along with Pathfinder Press titles, at a literature table. Members of the group and a professor accompanied the sales team all day, calling their friends over to join in political discussions and look over the books and periodicals.

"Sales results: 3 *Militant* subscriptions, 1 *PM* sub, 2 issues of *New International*, \$50 in Pathfinder books, and a visit to an enthusiastic college bookstore manager.

Detroit strikers subscribe

"That night another literature table attracted attention from some of the 800 people at an 'ox roast' fund-raiser for the Detroit newspaper strike, where strikers or their supporters purchased 2 *Militant* subscriptions and 4 issues of *New International*."

In addition to campuses, many of the new subscribers were won through door-to-door teams in working-class communities, and inside factories and mills.

In Birmingham, for example, during the last week of the drive, a team of supporters sold four *Militant* subscriptions in an apartment building in a working-class neighborhood, based on the paper's coverage of the Million Man March.

Socialists in the United Mine Workers of America, United Auto Workers, and United Transportation Union kicked in by selling another four subscriptions to coworkers. These sales put Birmingham distributors over the top in their *Militant* goal.

They then used the weekend to bring in more *Perspectiva*

another two issues of the Marxist magazine, and three workers at a UAW-organized plant each bought a copy of *New International*.

Mandela visit to New Zealand

In Auckland, New Zealand, socialists took full advantage of the visit of South African president Nelson Mandela. They sold 17 *Militant* subscriptions in the last week of the drive.

Three regular supporters in Greece report they ended the drive with daily sales and got four other people involved in the effort. Some helped to staff a table at the annual commemoration of the 1973 student uprising at the Polytechnic that marked the end of the military dictatorship then ruling Greece.

During the drive they sold 16 copies of the Greek translation of the article "Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War," and 18 copies of the translation of the Pathfinder book titled *The Truth About Yugoslavia*.

Now that the subscription drive is over, readers in many cities are organizing to set a measured pace for continuing regular sales through street sales, on the job, and at political events.

In Des Moines, distributors asked to have this week's bundle rushed to them so they could get to plant-gate sales at local meatpacking plants with the coverage on the victory in winning parole for Mark Curtis.

In a number of cities, regional socialist educational conferences are being planned for the New Year's weekend. Many new subscribers may be interested in these events and are being contacted by local distributors about these meetings.

FINAL RESULTS — AFTER 8 WEEKS

City	Militant goal	Militant sold	%	PM goal	PM sold	NI goal	NI sold
New Zealand							
Auckland	18	28	156%	1	1	15	15
Wellington	2	3	150%	0		1	1
Christchurch	8	5	63%	1		3	2
Total	28	36	129%	1	1	19	18
United States							
Peoria, IL	32	37	116%	2	3	8	9
Los Angeles	120	131	109%	75	79	75	81
Washington, DC	45	49	109%	15	17	20	17
Birmingham, AL	49	53	108%	5	6	15	21
Brooklyn	160	172	108%	50	56	50	54
Boston ^	45	48	107%	13	13	21	25
Miami	60	64	107%	20	39	30	38
Des Moines	50	53	106%	25	28	20	22
Seattle	70	74	106%	15	15	20	20
New York	120	126	105%	75	84	50	59
San Francisco	98	102	104%	30	30	60	60
Philadelphia	75	78	104%	15	16	15	18
Salt Lake City	50	52	104%	15	17	15	16
Atlanta	55	57	104%	18	21	15	16
Chicago	65	67	103%	20	28	25	29
Detroit	65	66	102%	10	10	20	16
Greensboro, NC	55	56	102%	10	11	10	0
Albany	7	7	100%	1	1	5	0
Cleveland	40	40	100%	10	9	15	11
Indiana	10	10	100%				
Twin Cities, MN	70	70	100%	12	7	20	10
Morgantown, WV	48	45	94%	2	2	16	7
Pittsburgh	65	56	86%	5	1	15	4
Newark, NJ	130	101	78%	45	48	40	37
Houston	55	39	71%	20	15	16	3
Denver	7	4	57%	3	5	3	2
New Haven	5	2	40%	1		2	
Tucson	5	2	40%	2	1	2	1
Cincinnati	8	3	38%	2		2	
Total U.S.	1664	1664	100%	516	562	605	563
Canada							
Toronto ^	50	54	108%	10	10	25	29
Vancouver	45	46	102%	6	7	20	15
Montreal	50	44	88%	12	12	30	23
Total	145	144	99%	28	29	75	67
Britain							
London	35	38	109%	10	10	25	38
Sheffield	12	11	92%	1		3	1
Manchester	40	30	75%	1	3	20	17
Total	87	79	91%	12	13	48	56
Australia							
France	15	13	87%	5	6	12	10
	6	5	83%	5	5	20	16
Sweden							
Stockholm	20	18	90%	15	22	20	26
Malmö	2	0	0%	2	1	1	
Total	22	18	82%	17	23	21	26
Greece							
Iceland	5	4	80%	1		4	3
Puerto Rico	10	6	60%	1		3	2
Other	2	1	50%	6	13	4	4
		1				2	
International Total		1,971	101%		652		780
Goal/Should be at		1,950	100%		525		750
^ increased goal							
IN THE UNIONS							
Australia							
AWU-FIME	2	1	50%	0		0	1
Canada							
USWA	5	11	220%	0		2	1
IAM	5	3	60%	2		3	
CEP	4			1		2	1
Canada total	14	14	100%	3	0	7	2
New Zealand							
EU	2	2	100%				
MWU	2			0		0	
New Zealand total	4	2	50%	0		0	
Sweden							
Metal union	1			1		4	
United States							
UAW	65	66	102%	10	5	17	18
UFCW	6	6	100%	10	9	2	10
UMWA	9	9	100%				
IAM	59	55	93%	9	1	17	8
OCAW	20	17	85%		1	3	
UNITE	20	11	55%	19	4	8	1
USWA	28	15	54%			1	
UTU	58	30	52%	3		17	6
U.S. Total	265	209	79%	51	20	61	47

After seven-year fight Curtis wins parole

Continued from front page

ica Local 67 in Granite City, Illinois; Frankie Travis, a member of the United Paperworkers International Union in Decatur, Illinois, who has been locked out at the A.E. Staley plant there; defense committee coordinator Studer, who is a member of United Auto Workers Local 270 in Des Moines; and Hazel Zimmerman, member of the National Treasury Workers Union and secretary-treasurer of the defense committee.

Reporters from the *Des Moines Register* and the *Militant* also attended the hearing. Three of the five parole board members were present — Robert Jackson, Joanne Lorence, and Walter Saur. For prisoners with good "risk assessment" ratings, three members of the board are sufficient to approve parole.

Curtis began by thanking the board for hearing his case, and for taking the time to read the hundreds of letters supporting his parole request. Studer had presented to board members another 15 letters that had come in the two days before the hearing.

He then introduced the members of the delegation. Answering a question from Lorence, Curtis explained that for the last three months he has been working in a vocational program in upholstery, one of the few programs available in the prison. He told the board, "I've always worked and had steady jobs. I've worked in meatpacking, in aircraft production" and other industries. Curtis noted that he already had three job offers in Chicago, and asked to be paroled to Illinois.

'Sparkling' record in prison

"You've been with us [in prison] for seven years," Lorence told Curtis, "and aside from one incident you have had a sparkling record. What happened there?"

In August 1994, Curtis was charged by prison authorities with assault on another inmate. He explained that the incident was "relatively minor, with no injuries." In a prison trial, Curtis was severely sentenced to 30 days "in the hole" — solitary confinement — and a year in lock-up for this.

Lorence noted his time in lock-up was reduced slightly for good behavior. After being released from lock-up "you had the opportunity to transfer to John Bennett [medium security prison] but chose not to," Lorence said. "Why was that?"

Curtis explained he had inquired about returning to Bennett from the maximum security prison, but it had not been clear when he would be able to. "In the meantime, the upholstery job came up and I took it to get back to work outside my cell with other people."

"The issue is whether or not Mark Curtis is a good candidate for parole," attorney Kutmus told the board, after reviewing Curtis's plan for parole in Illinois and presenting letters he has received offering jobs. "An important question is how long he has served — over seven years." This is nearly a year longer than the average for prisoners with similar sentences. Curtis "has had considerable punishment," Kutmus continued. "And as you characterized it, his conduct has been 'sparkling.'"

"Mark has had community support from the beginning, and once he is released he will be working. He's ready for parole right now," Curtis's attorney said.

Kutmus noted that Curtis has the best possible "risk assessment" by the prison's scale. Lorence agreed, and told Curtis, "You have put a lot of time in, and have



John Studer of defense committee answers question from TV reporter, at left.

Militant/Rebecca Gettleman

not been a problem for the institution."

Board member Saur said "the victim's family is no longer adamant" that Curtis remain in prison. Keith and Denise Morris, the parents of the young woman Curtis was accused of attacking, had been at previous hearings and spoken against Curtis's release. They did not attend this time.

Saur specifically noted that Curtis had served the required time under Iowa law on the sentence for sexual abuse. Since the summer of 1993 he has been in prison solely on a burglary charge that was tacked on weeks after his arrest. That charge raised the mandatory sentence on Curtis's conviction to 25 years.

"I like that you have a parole plan and will be under supervision," Saur said. "I would recommend that you be paroled to Illinois on December 7." The other board members present concurred. The delegation who had come to support Curtis broke into smiles and applause.

Saur said that it could take up to a couple of months after December 7 for Curtis to actually be released, since it involves an interstate parole. Curtis asked if there was anything he could do to expedite the procedure. Gesturing to the delegation of supporters, Saur replied, "I want to make something clear. These people are not why you're getting out. They've helped, but you've done it. Don't count on these people, or more letters, to do anything."

Prison guards led Curtis, who gave a thumbs-up sign, back to his cell without an opportunity to talk with his supporters. On his lunch break a couple hours later, however, Curtis was able to speak on the phone with most members of the delegation and others who had been waiting outside the prison to learn the results of the hearing. Curtis reported "a lot of hugs and handshakes" from other inmates, as word about his parole quickly spread.

By the time members of the delegation returned to Des Moines from here, the defense committee office was buzzing, with activists calling the media and contacting supporters of the defense effort to get out the good news. Among the first calls was one to the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee in Lawrence, Kansas. Native American activist Peltier has been in jail on a frame-up conviction stemming from the deaths of two FBI agents in 1975.

'Put victory at service of others'

That night many local supporters turned out to a meeting at the Forest Ave. Library in Des Moines to hear a report on the victory from defense committee coordinator Studer. Reporters from two TV stations and the local news radio station came as well. The story received prominent coverage on the night-time news broadcasts and in the next day's issue of the daily *Des Moines Register*.

"We view this as a victory," Studer said. "First of all, a victory for Mark, for his perseverance and for the example he set in continuing to work with others in struggle. This is a victory as well for the thousands who supported Mark, who kept writing letters and telling others about the case until this had enough weight, together with Mark's conduct, to win his release."

"Mark's intent is to put this victory at the service of others fighting for justice, from Leonard Peltier and Mumia Abu-

Jamal, to the workers fighting against union-busting at Caterpillar," Studer said.

Parole was not automatic

"People get paroled all the time. What makes you think his parole reflects some particular thinking on the part of the board?" one TV reporter asked Studer.

"This has never been a 'normal' case," he replied. "It's been political from the beating he got by the police, who called him a 'Mexican-lover, like you love those coloreds,' to the way the board denied him even a hearing for the last three years."

Previous parole hearings reflected that. At hearings in 1991 and 1992, the board argued that Curtis should attend the Iowa prison system's "Sexual Offenders Treatment Program." This program requires inmates to "own their crime" — that is admit guilt — which Curtis refused to do.

In 1993 the Iowa legislature changed the law so that the board was no longer required to give inmates even 20 minutes a year to present their requests for parole. Refusing to meet with Curtis in 1993 under stipulation of the new law, the parole board said that Curtis must go to Oakdale, a special prison facility for psychiatric evaluation, before his parole could be considered. Officials at Oakdale refused to admit him, however, stating that "no psychiatric issues" were involved in his case.

In August 1994, two months before his case was scheduled to be reviewed by the parole board, Curtis was accused of assaulting another inmate and thrown into punitive lock-up for 11 months. With Curtis in lock-up, the board again refused a hearing. By this year it "had become indefensible to keep him in prison," Studer told the reporter. "More people than ever were asking, 'Why is he still there?'"

The widely publicized tapes of racist Los Angeles cop Mark Fuhrman and the exposure of widespread frame-ups, corruption, and brutality by the police in

Philadelphia also helped convince a growing number of people to support Curtis's fight for parole in recent months.

Continuing defense tasks

"We're now getting close to the finish line," Studer said to the supporters gathered in Des Moines. He outlined the heart of the remaining challenges ahead of Curtis and his supporters.

"We need to make sure the word rapidly gets out about this stage of the case, to the media and to the thousands of people around the world who have backed Mark's fight over the years," Studer said. "The aim of the defense effort all along has been to win Mark's release and to exonerate him in the court of working-class public opinion, including from the platform of the court of law." He invited those present to help send a large mailing on the victory and call other supporters the next night at the defense committee office.

Defense committee supporters had a lot to add to Studer's report. An additional reason for Curtis's release, Norton Sandler noted, was that "the longer this went on, the more the world changed." He pointed to the increasing number of workers from around the world who now live throughout the Midwest. "From the beginning Mark's case was tied to the struggles in meatpacking, and to the defense of immigrant workers at the Monfort packinghouse."

Maurice Peret, another Curtis supporter from Des Moines and a member of UAW Local 270, noted, "They tried to break Mark, but he grew politically in prison. He wrote for the *Militant* and communicated with other fighters all over the world." Curtis was elected to the Socialist Workers Party National Committee in 1994 and has actively served on that body since.

Max Exner, a retired professor from Iowa State University in Ames, said, "The ruling powers think they can use a case like Mark's to make an example to intimidate other workers. But that's been turned on them, with the example Mark has set."

"When the parole board said the hundreds of letters supporting Mark didn't count, you could see their noses grow longer," commented Larry Ginter, a farm activist and longtime Curtis supporter. Ginter was part of a delegation who met with the parole board September 7 to request that Curtis be granted a parole hearing. "I think it was the international fight that won this victory."

"We must above all remain vigilant," Studer summarized. "Mark is still in prison in Fort Madison, and we want to speed the day he walks out." Supporters of the defense effort around the world "need to make sure any attempt to delay his release is met with a response, including even more of these letters."

"Finally, we will need to raise money to see through the final stage of this fight," he said. This includes covering the ongoing legal costs related to initiating Curtis's parole, which the state will maximize as a final act of vindictiveness and test of Curtis's support.

'I had to stick with him'

FORT MADISON, Iowa — "I first learned about Mark's case at the rally to defend the Swift 17 on March 12, 1988," explained Hazel Zimmerman, secretary-treasurer of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, as we prepared to attend Mark Curtis's parole hearing. The Swift 17 were meatpackers from Mexico and El Salvador who had been arrested by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in a factory raid. Several had applied for amnesty. "I felt betrayed [by the arrests] because as a government worker I had assured callers that they would not be prosecuted if they applied for amnesty."

Zimmerman met Curtis, another Swift worker who had just been beaten and framed up by the Des Moines police, at that rally. "At first I supported him because no one deserves to be beaten by the cops like he was," she said. "Then I came to believe in his innocence, and I had to stick with him. I never believed we would still be fighting this nearly eight years later."

Many of those who attended Curtis's hearing and the celebration meeting in Des Moines afterward were longtime sup-

porters like Zimmerman. Others, such as Daniel Aguillar, a worker at the Monfort packinghouse in Des Moines, formerly Swift, had recently learned about the case. "I support him because he stood on the side of the workers, of the immigrants," said Aguillar at the support meeting in Des Moines. "That's what we need."

Larry Ginter, a hog farmer from Rhodes, Iowa, and activist in the American Agricultural Movement, explained that his group supported Curtis from early on. "I appreciated that Mark wrote about the struggles of working farmers in the *Militant*," Ginter commented.

Dannen Vance, a member of the International Association of Machinists from Peoria, Illinois, who waited outside the prison during the hearing, said that like many supporters he first heard about the case from a co-worker. "I was stand-offish at first because I thought it was a rape case," he said. "I watched the video *The Frame-up of Mark Curtis* and then read the transcript of the trial. I realized not just that Mark was not guilty, but that I needed to speak up about it."

— N.C.



Mark Curtis at November 21 hearing

Dozens of people demand: 'Parole Mark Curtis now'

The following are excerpts from some of the letters to the Iowa State Board of Parole urging that political and union activist Mark Curtis be released on parole. They arrived in the last few days leading up to Curtis's November 21 parole hearing and were hand-delivered to board members at the Iowa State Penitentiary in Fort Madison, Iowa.

Lisa Faruolo
Bill May
G.L. Fragin
Leonard Peltier
Defense Committee
Lawrence, Kansas

This letter comes to you today to add our voices to the many others supporting a favorable decision from the Parole Board for the release of Mark Curtis. Curtis, a man active in the struggle for rights of immigrant workers, deserves a fair and impartial look by the Board.

Curtis has spent much of his life, inside and outside of prison, helping others. We hope that the panel assembled to examine his case will consider the work he has done in the area of human rights, and economic and social equity.

As more and more people are made aware of his situation, much embarrassment can be avoided by simply doing the right thing now rather than answering the public at a later date.

Barry Wilson
Vice President,
Auckland Council
for Civil Liberties
Auckland, New Zealand

I wish, on behalf of the council, to make a strong plea for Mr. Curtis to be granted parole and released from custody for good behaviour. He has now been in prison for seven years — a very substantial term. He is in no way a threat to individuals or the community. He has a great deal of support both at local level and overseas.

Ken Stuber
Presbyterian minister
Des Moines, Iowa

After first reviewing a considerable amount of material pertaining to the Mark Curtis case, I have decided to write a letter urging that this man be given parole. I am a Presbyterian minister, I have a concern that Mr. Curtis has more than served his time for anything he may or may not have done.

I would ask the parole board to consider the multitude of voices raised on Mark's behalf, to consider the efforts of his wife to show that he would have a job and a place to put down roots upon his release,

and to consider the arguments that have been brought forth and which continue to be brought forth as far as Mark's value and worth as a human being are concerned.

I became concerned when looking at information pertaining to the Mark Curtis case as to whether it is justice or vengeance that is currently being served. The man has certainly done a considerable amount of time. I would urge you to consider that it is time for him to be paroled.

Parents Against Police
Brutality
Bronx, New York

Sirs, we are writing this letter to support Mark Curtis on his behalf. We feel that he was unjustly framed and did not get a fair trial. We would like to see Mark Curtis paroled and set free. This man was unjustly tried and made to serve time. Why, because of his political beliefs?

We here in New York are also faced with police brutality. There has been an alarming increase, especially in minorities, in how the Police Department continues to brutalize, and in the name of the law it's justified. We must continue our struggle to fight against police brutality and seek justice for the oppressed.

Dave Dowling
President,
United Steelworkers Local 67
Granite City, Illinois

I am writing to join the many others who call upon the Parole Board to release Mark Curtis.

I have followed the case of Mr. Curtis from its beginning and was privileged to meet Mark at a past Steelworkers International Union Convention which I attended as a Steelworker Local Union President. I am personally convinced of his innocence.

Regardless of what others' opinions may be of Mark Curtis's guilt or innocence of the crime he was charged with, everyone must agree that he has served more time in prison than one would ordinarily expect and that surely the time has come to permit him his freedom.

Vivianna
Trujillo
Editor,
Prisoner section
'La Gente de
Aztlán,' UCLA

As a former editor-in-chief and current editor of the prisoner section of *La Gente de Aztlán*, the Chicano/Latino community newsmagazine at the University of California, Los Angeles, I have been following Mark Curtis's case closely. It has come to my attention that he was granted a long overdue parole hearing after having served six and a half years in prison. I am writing to express my overwhelming support that you parole Mark Curtis. Mark Curtis's release is of particular interest to us in Los Angeles because of his work in support of our Latino brothers and sisters who are immigrants.

Steve Riley
Executive Council Member
Transport and General Workers
Union
Dagenham, United Kingdom

I understand that Mark Curtis will be appearing before the Board on November 21st to argue why he should be considered for parole. I would like to lend my support to his appeal.

Having served seven years Mark Curtis has already spent more time in jail than is usual for those convicted of the offences of which the court found him guilty. At the same time his record, the offers of work he has received, and strong support he has outside prison leave me in no doubt that if released he will continue to be a socially conscious and responsible member of the community.

I am sure that his further incarceration will bring more people to the conclusion that Mark Curtis is being victimised for his union and political activities, and to



Leonard Peltier Defense Committee/Dick Bancroft
Native American leader Leonard Peltier is serving two life sentences at Leavenworth federal prison, Kansas, after FBI frame-up. His defense committee supports Curtis.

question the original basis for his conviction.

Curtis L. Black
Member, National Veterans
Advisory Committee,
United Auto Workers Local 664
North Tarrytown, New York

I have been following the Mark Curtis case since 1988. A flame in me is reignited when I hear more about it. Brother Curtis has served his time. With the revelations of the brutality, racism, and frame-ups of our police officers, there should be some consideration. Please let Brother Curtis go.

James (J.P.) Jones
State Legislative Director,
United Transportation Union
Sacramento, California

I am writing you to advise that I support your decision to approve an interview for Mark Curtis on November 21, 1995.

After three (3) years without a hearing, and over seven years in prison, I urge the Board to grant Mark Curtis a parole.

Mr. Curtis has his wife, his family, many friends and supporters, and union brothers and sisters that are waiting to help him find work and get back to a human society.

'L.A. 8' score gains against frame-up

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — In their ongoing fight against deportation, the Los Angeles 8 have scored two important gains for democratic rights.

Rejecting a government appeal, a panel of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that noncitizens have the same First Amendment right to freedom of speech and association as citizens. It also ruled that the government cannot use secret evidence that is available to only one side in a deportation case.

The government has been trying to deport the L.A. 8 — seven Palestinians and a Kenyan — for the past eight years. The government claims that the eight are supporters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which it brands as terrorist. The PFLP is an af-

filiate of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The eight have lived here for years. Two are permanent legal residents, the others have visas.

Earlier in the case, Federal Judge Stephen Wilson ruled that the Bill of Rights applied with equal force to noncitizens. He also barred the government from using "classified" information to thwart two of the eight in their bid for permanent residence status. The Justice Department appealed these rulings to the Ninth Circuit Court. The court's decision, handed down November 8, rejected the government appeal on both counts.

The court also upheld a preliminary injunction issued by judge Wilson barring the selective enforcement of immigration statutes against six of the eight.

And the court ruled that Wilson was wrong when he held he lacked the jurisdiction to issue such an injunction on behalf of Khader Hamide and Michel Shehadeh, who are permanent U.S. residents. It's expected he will now extend the preliminary injunction to cover them as well.

In oral arguments before the Appeals Court, the government lawyer, Michael Linderman claimed there had been no selective enforcement. He claimed that when the 1984 Olympic Games were held here, the government began to investigate "terrorism" and found the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine to be very active in the Los Angeles Arab community. And, he added, they found "these people support the PFLP."

Further, he contended, deportations can be based on foreign policy considerations. The PFLP, he argued, opposes U.S. "peace" efforts in the Mideast and assert-

edly "kills people" to block these efforts.

From the outset, the government has acknowledged it could not prosecute citizens for supporting the PFLP. The Appeals Court said this poses the key question: "Whether aliens may be deported because of their associational activities with particular groups, or...are entitled to the full panoply of First Amendment rights of expression and association."

"Guilty by association," they added, violates the First Amendment.

Marc Van Der Hout, one of the attorneys for the L.A. 8, said, "We are overjoyed" by the appeals court ruling.

"At a time when anti-immigrant efforts are at a peak," he added, "the court's decision confirms that the Bill of Rights applies to all people in the United States, and our most basic freedoms are not limited to citizens."

Currently in the Congressional hopper is the Omnibus Counterterrorism Act of 1995, introduced by the Clinton administration.

The bill would give the president the power to arbitrarily declare organizations "terrorist." Noncitizens accused of terrorism could be tried by a special court in secret session, and could be convicted on the basis of secret evidence.

In effect, the Appeals Court decision brands the measure unconstitutional.

The Justice Department has not yet said how it will respond to the ruling by the three-judge panel. It has the option of requesting a review by the full Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, or taking it to the Supreme Court.

Charlene Castle in Los Angeles contributed to this article.

FOR FURTHER READING

FBI on trial

THE VICTORY IN THE
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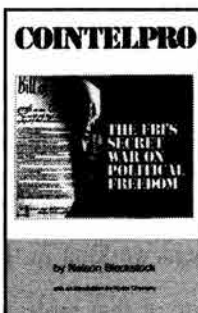
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'Socialism on trial,' on eve of World War II

The following are excerpts from *Socialism on Trial* by James P. Cannon. The book, published by Pathfinder, is the official record of testimony by Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at one of the most important political trials in U.S. history.

On the eve of Washington's entry into World War II, 18 leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis Teamsters union were tried and found guilty of "conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the U.S. government." These were the first convictions under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act.

The defendants were campaigning against Washington's drive to drag workers and farmers in the United States into the slaughter of World War II. Many of the 18 were central leaders of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes and subsequent organizing drives in the Midwest.

Despite the wartime atmosphere, the defense effort gained nationwide publicity and support. Tens of thousands backed the defendant's civil liberties; unions representing over two million workers endorsed the defense committee.

The 18 were convicted on December 8, 1941, the same day Washington declared war on Tokyo, and served 12- to 18-month sentences in prison during 1944-45.

Cannon gave his testimony exactly 54 years ago. Yet it remains highly relevant today.

The portions below are from the first two sessions of Cannon's court appearance, which began on November 18, 1941, and ended three days later. Albert Goldman, who is questioning Cannon, was the chief defense attorney and one of the defendants.

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❖

Testimony by James P. Cannon
District Court of the United States,
District of Minnesota, Fourth Division.
Tuesday, November 18, 1941
Afternoon Session

JAMES P. CANNON was called as a witness on behalf of the defendants, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION
By MR. GOLDMAN:

Q: Will you please state your name for the reporter?

A: James P. Cannon.

Q: Where do you live, Mr. Cannon?

A: New York.

Q: And your present occupation?

A: National secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

Q: How old are you, Mr. Cannon?

A: Fifty-one.

Q: Where were you born?

A: Rosedale, Kansas.

Q: How long a period is it since you began your career in the Marxist movement, Mr. Cannon?

A: Thirty years.

Q: What organization did you first join that was part of the working-class movement?

A: The IWW, Industrial Workers of the World.

Q: And did you join any other organization subsequent to that one?

A: The Socialist Party.

Q: And after that?

A: In 1919, at the foundation of the Communist Party, I was one of the original members, and a member of the National Committee since 1920.

Q: How long a period did you remain in the Communist Party?

A: Until October 1928.



Six of 18 SWP and Teamsters leaders meet to plan defense efforts after hearing their conviction. From left to right seated are Albert Goldman, Grace Holmes Carlson, Felix Morrow; standing are Farrell Dobbs, James P. Cannon, and Vincent R. Dunne.

Q: Now, will you tell the court and jury the extent of your knowledge of Marxian theory?

A: I am familiar with the most important writings of the Marxist teachers — Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, and the commentators on their works.

Q: Have you ever read any books against the Marxian theory?

A: Yes. In general I am familiar with the literature against Marxism, particularly the most important book.

Q: Which one is the most important book?

A: Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

Q: Have you ever edited any labor papers, Mr. Cannon?

A: Yes, a number of them. In fact, I have been more or less a working journalist in the movement for about twenty-five years.

Q: Do you recollect the names of any of the papers that you edited?

A: The *Workers' World* in Kansas City. The *Toiler*, published in Cleveland, Ohio. I was at one time editor of *The Militant*. I was editor of the paper called *Labor Action* published in San Francisco, and I have been on the editorial board of numerous other papers and magazines published in the movement.

Q: Have you ever delivered lectures on the theory of socialism and other aspects of the Marxist movement?

A: Yes, I have done that continuously for about thirty years.

Expulsion from Communist Party

Q: Tell us the reasons why you severed your connection with the Communist Party, Mr. Cannon.

A: Well, at the time of the controversy that developed in the Russian party between Trotsky on the one side, and Stalin and his group on the other, a controversy that touched many of the most fundamental principles of socialism, this controversy gradually became extended in the Communist International, and became the subject of concern in the other parties of the Communist International. I and some others here took a position in support of Trotsky and that led to our expulsion from the Communist Party of the United States.

Q: Can you give us in brief an idea of the nature of the controversy?

A: It began over the question of bureaucracy in the governmental apparatus of the Soviet Union and in the staffs of the party in Russia. Trotsky began a struggle for more democracy in the party, in the government

and unions, and the country generally. This struggle against what Trotsky — and I agree with him — characterized as an increasing bureaucratization of the whole regime, this controversy originating over this point, gradually developed in the course of years into fundamental conflicts

over virtually all the basic principles of socialist theory and practice.

Q: And as a result of this controversy, the expulsion took place?

A: As a result of that, the expulsion of our group took place here in the United States, as was the case also in Russia.

Q: In what year was that?

A: 1928.

Q: Tell us what happened to the group that was expelled.

A: We organized ourselves as a group and began to publish a paper called *The Militant*.

Q: And give us some idea of the size of that group, Mr. Cannon.

A: Well, there were only three of us to start with. Eventually we got supporters in other cities. Six months later, when we had our first conference, we had about one hundred members in the country.

Q: And subsequent to that, was there any party organized by this group?

Communist League of America

A: Yes, this group called itself originally the Communist League of America, and considered itself still a faction of the Communist Party, attempting to get reinstated into the party, with the provision that we would have a right to hold our views and discuss them in the party. This proposal of ours was rejected by the party, so we developed as an independent organization.

In 1934 we came to an agreement with another organization, which had never been connected with the Communist movement, which had grown out of the trade unions. This organization, originally known as the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, took the name of the American Workers Party. In 1934, in the fall of that year, we had a joint convention with them and formed a common organization which we called the Workers Party of the United States.

Q: And how long did this Workers Party exist?

A: From the fall of 1934 until the spring of 1936.

Q: And what happened then?

A: At that time our party joined the Socialist Party as a body. The Socialist Party had had an internal discussion and controversy, which culminated in the last month of 1935 in a split, in the withdrawal of the more conservative elements. The Socialist Party had then issued an invitation for unaffiliated radical individuals and groups to join the Socialist Party.

We accepted the invitation and joined the party in 1936, again with the express provision which we had originally contended for in the Communist Party, that we should have the right to maintain our particular views and to discuss them in the party — that is, when discussion was in

order, and we on our part obligated ourselves to observe discipline in the daily work and common action of the party.

Q: How long did your group remain in the Socialist Party?

A: Just about a year.

Q: And what happened then?

A: Well, the Socialist Party began to impose upon us the same kind of bureaucratism that we had suffered from in the Communist Party. There were great questions disturbing the minds of socialists in that period, particularly the problems of the Spanish Civil War.

Q: And that was in what year?

A: That was in the year 1936, but it became very acute in the spring of 1937. We had a definite position on the Spanish question. We studied it attentively and we wanted to make our views known to the other party members. This was permitted for some time, and then the National Executive Committee issued an order prohibiting any further discussion, prohibiting even the adoption of resolutions by branches on the subject, and we revolted against that provision and insisted on our rights.

At the same time, a big dispute arose in New York over the election campaign — this was the second campaign of La Guardia, and the Socialist Party officially decided to support the candidacy of La Guardia. We opposed it on the ground that it was a violation of socialist principles to support the candidate of a capitalist party. La Guardia was a candidate of the Republican and Fusion parties as well as of the Labor Party.

We also insisted on making our views on this question known and this led to the wholesale expulsion of our people.

Founding of SWP

Q: When was the Socialist Workers Party organized?

A: The last days of December 1937 and the first day or two of January 1938.

Q: Who participated in its organization?

A: The branches of the Socialist Party which had been expelled — these were banded together under a committee of the expelled branches and this committee was instructed by a conference to arrange a convention, prepare it, and the expelled branches of the Socialist Party sent delegates to the foundation convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

Q: Did this committee of the expelled branches publish any paper?

A: Yes, it published a paper following the expulsions, which began in May or June 1937. We published the *Socialist Appeal*, and that became the official organ of the party after the convention. Later, about a year ago, we changed the name back to our original name, *The Militant*.

Q: To the best of your recollection, how many delegates were present at the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party?

A: I think about a hundred.

Q: And they came from all over the country, did they?

A: Yes, from about thirty cities, I think — twenty-five or thirty cities.

Q: Now, what did that convention do?

A: The most important decisions of the convention were to set up its organization, adopt a Declaration of Principles, and some collateral resolutions on current questions, and elect a National Committee to direct the work of the party on the basis of the Declaration of Principles....

Q: What did the convention, the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party, adopt as the fundamental aim of the party?

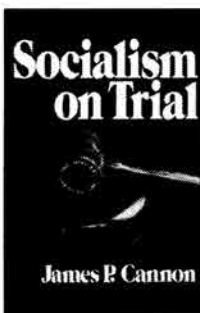
A: I would say that the fundamental aim of the party then and now is to popularize the doctrines of Marxian socialism and to aid and lead in the work of transforming society from a capitalist to a communist basis.

What is socialism?

Q: Give us the meaning of the term socialism.

A: Socialism can have two meanings, and usually does among us. That is, socialism is a name applied to a projected new form of society, and it is a name also applied to the movement working in that direction.

Q: What is the nature of that projected society?



FROM PATHFINDER

Socialism on Trial

James P. Cannon

The basic ideas of socialism, explained in testimony during the frame-up trial of 18 leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters union and the Socialist Workers Party charged with sedition during World War II. \$15.95

Available at bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150. Please include \$3 to cover postage and handling.

A: We visualize a social order that would be based on the common ownership of the means of production, the elimination of private profit in the means of production, the abolition of the wage system, the abolition of the division of society into classes.

Q: With reference to any government for the purpose of instituting such a society, what would you say is the purpose of the Socialist Workers Party?

A: We have set as our aim the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government, in place of the existing government which we term a capitalist government. The task of this government would be to arrange and control the transition of society from the basis of capitalism to the basis of socialism.

Q: When you say "capitalist government," what do you mean?

A: We mean a government that arises from a society that is based on the private ownership of the wealth of the country and the means of production by the capitalists, and which in general represents the interests of that class.

Q: And in contradistinction to this government you propose to establish a workers' and farmers' government?

A: Yes, we propose in place of the capitalists' a workers' and farmers' government, which will frankly represent the economic and social interests of the workers and the producing farmers.

Q: Well, what would happen to the capitalists?

A: Under the workers' and farmers' government, the main task of the government will be to carry out the transfer of the most important means of production from private ownership to the common ownership of the people.

Q: Well, what would happen to the individual capitalists who would lose their wealth?

A: What do you mean, "happen to them," in what way?

Q: Would you kill them or put them to work or what?

A: Well, under our theory, citizenship participation in the benefits of society would be open to everybody on a basis of equality. This would apply to former capitalists as well as to workers and farmers.

Q: When you use the term "productive wealth," do you mean any property that an individual owns?

A: No — when we speak of the means of production, the wealth of the country, we mean that wealth which is necessary for the production of the necessities of the people. The industries, the railroads, mines, and so on. We don't propose — at least, Marxist socialists have never proposed anywhere that I know — the elimination of private property in personal effects. We speak of those things which are necessary for the production of the people's needs. They shall be owned in common by all the people....

Wednesday, November 19, 1941
Morning Session
JAMES P. CANNON
DIRECT EXAMINATION
(Continued)

Causes of modern war

Q: (By Mr. Goldman): Mr. Cannon, will you tell us the position of the Socialist Workers Party on the causes of modern war?

A: Modern wars, in the opinion of our party, are caused by the conflict of imperialist nations for markets, colonies, sources of raw material, fields for investment, and spheres of influence.

Q: What do you mean by "imperialist," Mr. Cannon?

A: Those capitalist nations which directly or indirectly exploit other countries.

Q: What is the party's position on the inevitability of wars under the capitalist system?

A: As long as the capitalist system remains, and with it those conditions which I have mentioned, which flow automatically from the operation of the capitalist and imperialist system, wars, recurring wars, are inevitable.

Q: And can anybody's opposition, including the opposition of the Socialist Workers Party to war, prevent wars under the capitalist system?

A: No. Our party has always stated that

it is impossible to prevent wars without abolishing the capitalist system which breeds war. It may be possible to delay a war for a while, but eventually it is impossible to prevent wars while this system, and its conflicts of imperialist nations, remains.

Q: Then is it true that the party is of the opinion that wars are caused by international economic conflicts, and not by the good will or bad will of some people?

A: Yes. That does not eliminate the possibility of incidental attacks being caused by the acts of this or that ruling group of one country or another; but fundamentally wars are caused by the efforts of all the capitalist powers to expand into other fields. The only way they can get them is by taking them away from some other power, because the whole world has been divided up among a small group of imperialist powers. That is what leads to war, regardless of the will of the people.

We do not maintain that the ruling groups of any of the imperialist powers now at war really desired the war. We have stated many times that they would have been glad to have avoided it; but they could not avoid it and maintain the capitalist system in their country.

Q: What is the attitude of the party towards a war which it designates as an imperialist war?

A: Our party is unalterably opposed to all imperialist wars.

Q: And what is meant by opposition to imperialist wars?

A: By that we mean that we do not give any support to any imperialist war. We do not vote for it; we do not vote for any person that promotes it; we do not speak for it; we do not write for it. We are in opposition to it.

Q: How does the Socialist Workers Party oppose the idea of the United States entering into the war?

A: We do it as every other political party promotes its ideas on any foreign policy. We write against it in the paper; we speak against it; we try to create sentiment in any organization we can approach, to adopt resolutions against the war. If we had members in Congress, they would speak in Congress, in the Senate, against it. In general we carry on public political agitation against the entry of the United States into war, and against all measures taken either by the Executive or by Congress which in our opinion lead towards active participation in the war....

Opposition to imperialist war

Q: If the United States should enter into the European conflict, what form would the opposition of the party take to the war?

A: We would maintain our position.

Q: And that is what?

A: That is, we would not become supporters of the war, even after the war was declared. That is, we would remain an opposition political party on the war question, as on others.

Q: You would not support the war?

A: That is what I mean, we would not support the war, in a political sense.

The Court: May I ask you to develop the significance of that last statement?

Mr. Goldman: Yes.

Q: When you say, "nonsupport of the war," just exactly what would the party do during a war, which would indicate its nonsupport of the war?

A: Insofar as we are permitted our rights, we would speak against the war as a false policy that should be changed, in the same sense, from our point of view, that other parties might oppose the foreign policy of the government in time of war, just as Lloyd George, for example, opposed the Boer War in public addresses and speeches. Ramsay MacDonald, who later became prime minister of England, opposed the war policy of England during the World War of 1914-1918. We hold our own point of view, which is different from the point of view of the two political figures I have just mentioned, and so far as we are permitted to exercise our right, we would continue to write and speak for a different foreign policy for America....

Q: Will you state the reasons why the party would not support a war conducted by the present government of the United States?

A: In general, we do not put any confidence in the ruling capitalist group in

this country. We do not give them any support because we do not think they can or will solve the fundamental social problems which must be solved in order to save civilization from shipwreck.

We believe that the necessary social transition from the present system of capitalism to the far more efficient order of socialism can only be brought about under a leadership of the workers. The workers must organize themselves independently of the capitalist political parties. They must organize a great party of their own, develop an independent working-class party of their own, and oppose the policy of the capitalist parties, regardless of whether they are called the Democratic or Republican, or anything else....

How to fight Hitlerism

Q: What is the party's position on the claim that the war against Hitler is a war of democracy against fascism?

A: We say that is a subterfuge, that the conflict between American imperialism and German imperialism is for the domination of the world. It is absolutely true that Hitler wants to dominate the world, but we think it is equally true that the ruling group of American capitalists has the same idea, and we are not in favor of either of them.

We do not think that the Sixty Families who own America want to wage this war for some sacred principle of democracy. We think they are the greatest enemies of democracy here at home. We think they would only use the opportunity of a war to eliminate all civil liberties at home, to get the best imitation of fascism they can possibly get....

Q: Is it true then that the party is as equally opposed to Hitler as it is to the capitalist claims of the United States?

A: That is uncontested. We consider Hitler and Hitlerism the greatest enemy of mankind. We want to wipe it off the face of the earth. The reason we do not support a declaration of war by American arms is because we do not believe the American capitalists can defeat Hitler and fascism. We think Hitlerism can be destroyed only by way of conducting a war under the leadership of the workers.

Q: What method does the party propose for the defeat of Hitler?

A: If the workers formed the govern-



Teamsters union members confront the police during 1934 strike in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

ment I spoke of, if the workers' form of government were in power, we would propose two things:

One, that we issue a declaration to the German people, a solemn promise, that we are not going to impose another Versailles peace on them; that we are not going to cripple the German people, or take away their shipping facilities, or take away their milk cows, as was done in the horrible Treaty of Versailles, starving German babies at their mothers' breasts, and filling the German people with such hatred and such demand for revenge that it made it possible for a monster like Hitler to rally them with the slogan of revenge against this terrible Treaty of Versailles. We would say to them:

"We promise you that we will not impose any of those things upon the German people. On the contrary, we propose to you a reorganization of the world on a fair socialist basis, where the German people, with all their recognized ability and their genius and labor, can participate equally with us." That would be our party's first proposal to them.

Second, we would also say to them, "On the other hand, we are going to build the biggest army and navy and air force in the world, to put at your disposal, to help smash Hitler by force of arms on one front, while you revolt against him on the home front." I think that would be the program, in essence, of our party, which the workers' and farmers' government of America would advance so far as Hitler is concerned, and we believe that is the only way Hitlerism will be destroyed.

Celebrate the life and political contributions of Ed Shaw

Ed Shaw (1923-1995) was a longtime leader of the SWP. He was a union militant as a seaman in the merchant marine when he joined the party in 1944. Elected to the SWP's National Committee in 1959, he served on it until 1981. Shaw was a leader of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in the early 1960s and the SWP candidate for U.S. vice president in 1964. He was also the party's organization secretary in the late '60s.

MIAMI

Sun., Dec. 3, 1:00 p.m.
137 N.E. 54th St.

Speakers:

Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary

Tom Leonard, longtime SWP leader and former seaman

Ernie Mailhot, co-author of *Eastern Airlines Strike*

Verónica Poses, coordinator, Miami Young Socialists

Tony Thomas, member, Transport Workers Union Local 291 in Miami

Mary-Alice Waters, editor, *New International*

For more information call the Miami branch of the SWP. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

NEW YORK

Sun., Dec. 10, 1:00 p.m.

Speakers:

Jack Barnes

Joel Britton, SWP national trade union director

Virginia Garza, longtime socialist

Tom Leonard

Olga Rodríguez, editor of *Politics of Chicano Liberation*

Tony Thomas

Mary-Alice Waters

Leader of New York Young Socialists

For more information call the New York branch of the SWP. Tel: (212) 388-9475

SAN FRANCISCO

Sun., Dec. 17

For more information call the San Francisco branch of the SWP. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

Boeing pact rejected

Continued from front page

ton state. A total of 32,000 riveters, painters, crane operators, and other production workers are on strike.

"By rejecting this contract offer you sent a message to the Boeing company," Johnson said. "Now it's time to go back out on the line, to stay united, and we will get a good contract. The fight has just begun."

Many strikers were glad the proposed contract had been turned down. "There should have been a 'No' and a 'Hell no' box," Jim Rice told reporters.

However, Pete, a worker at Boeing for 16 years, said, "I voted for the contract. It was enough for me. But I have to stay with the membership. I'm staying out."

On the picket line the morning after the vote, John and Mary Corbett, both striking Machinists, were out making up their missed picket assignment. John said, "When we were being sent out this morning the picket captain asked us what it was we wanted from the negotiations team. I told him we've been telling you for seven weeks now: no givebacks."

When asked what he thought about the vote against the contract, John replied, "I'm so proud of the members. Now it's our strike, not Boeing's game anymore."

The picketers reported more passersby were beeping their horns and waving at them this morning. A Seattle rail worker reported that while working the previous night his co-workers were discussing the Machinists' rejection of Boeing's contract offer. "I'm so proud of the Boeing workers," one commented. "We should be doing just what they're doing."

A central issue in the strike has been Boeing's demand that workers pay substantially more for health care. The contract proposed establishing monthly co-payments for the first time and called for higher deductible payments.

Workers remaining in the Boeing Medical Plan would be forced to pay from \$10 to \$30 per month, depending on their family status. Deductibles would range from \$125 to \$375.

"Medical is a big thing for me," Vickie Drysdale, a shop steward at the Auburn plant, told the *Militant* the day before the vote at the IAM hall. "This year it's this much... next year it's more," she explained, referring to the medical insurance co-payments.

"It's a mistake to give in on this," echoed Steve Howarth several blocks away on the picket line. "It's just opening the door. They just want to stick it to the working man and make him pay for it. They want to pass on the increased costs to the little guy."

For many workers another key issue is the threat of layoffs. The latest proposal contained vague language intended to appease that concern. Boeing agreed to give the union 90-day advance notice of its intent to subcontract work that would eliminate 50 or more jobs in the Puget Sound area and 30 or more in Spokane, Washington, and Portland, Oregon. The union would then have the opportunity to propose alternatives, which the company

could consider at its discretion.

The company also offered to provide laid-off workers a severance package equaling one week of pay for every year of service up to 26 years.

Also at issue was pensions. Workers retiring under the terms of the latest offer would receive \$40 a month per year of service, up from \$35 in the old contract and up from \$37 in Boeing's October offer.

The proposed contract included an agreement not to increase costs of medical benefits for retirees. Boeing's recent announcement that it would unilaterally raise health-care costs for the 10,000 retirees particularly angered many strikers. In 1995 some 3,000 Machinists accepted an early retirement package. The company promised that their benefits would not change and that they would receive a lump sum payment based on their hours worked in 1995 prior to retirement. The second contract proposal reneged on the lump sum payment. This attack was denounced at a November 20 action organized by retiree groups that drew 100 workers.

On the question of wages, which has never been a central issue in the strike, the proposed package registered no real progress. Lump sum payments of 5 percent in the first year and 3 percent the second substituted for any general wage increase. A 3 percent general wage increase was included in the contract's final year.

The IAM negotiation team had unanimously recommended the contract proposal. In a flyer distributed to workers to explain the proposal, the negotiators explained, "Are we thrilled about this? No, but...in the best judgment of your Committee, this was the most we could get out of Boeing at this time — short of continu-



Militant/Lisa Ahlberg

Members of the United Farm Workers of Washington State joined a November 12 rally in support of the 32,000 workers out on strike against Boeing.

ing the strike."

Several workers pointed to the similarity of the new offer to the initial proposal. Bob Kemmer, a Boeing worker for 23 years, said, "It's just switching numbers around. It's not acceptable."

Unionists stressed the fact that Boeing is highly profitable and doing well. On November 14 the aircraft giant announced that Singapore Airlines will buy 34 of Boeing's new 777 model planes, with options for 43 more. The mammoth deal is valued at \$12.7 billion.

Several said that by continuing the strike they could wrest more of what they deserve. "Boeing's not a struggling company," Cecil Johnson said. "They could spread the wealth around a little bit."

"Not good enough" is how John Mal-

garini, a seven-year Boeing worker at the Renton plant explained his "no" vote. "I didn't strike for seven weeks for nothing. Boeing can do better than this. They should do better than this."

Adding insult to injury was an announcement that five Boeing executives, including chairman and chief executive Frank Shrontz, were eligible for \$2.5 million bonuses because of rising stock prices.

In response, strikers greeted the announcement of the contract rejection with boisterous chants of "It's our turn now!"

Lisa Ahlberg is a member of IAM Local 289. Bob Bruneau, a member of IAM Local 751-A at Boeing's Renton plant, is on strike.

News strikers refuse to give up fight

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

DETROIT — Striking newspaper workers here opened a new front in their battle with the bosses when 300,000 copies of their own weekly newspaper were delivered to homes, stores, plant gates, and union halls in this area.

A front page article entitled "Welcome to the Journal" informed readers that the Detroit *Sunday Journal* is "an interim newspaper... for the duration of the current labor dispute at the Detroit *Free Press*, Detroit *News*, and Detroit Newspapers, Inc. The *Journal* will cease publication when the members of the six striking unions reach contract agreements with the companies."

"This is a weekly publication produced by the more than 2,000 striking workers. It is for the hundred of thousands of people throughout southeastern Michigan who have supported us during this grueling four-month strike."

The 48-page tabloid, complete with state and local news, sports, recipes, entertainment reviews, TV listings, classified ads, and even a crossword puzzle, was a welcome sight. Many working people displaying lawn signs saying, "No scab papers" found a copy of the strike paper on their front doorstep Sunday morning.

The paper included advertisements from supporting unions and some businesses that have not bought ads in the scab newspapers.

In a press conference announcing the new paper, Lou Mleczo, president of Newspaper Guild Local 22, said, "We hope this adds more pressure for the other side to return to the bargaining table. It's one more piece of our arsenal."

The Teamsters, Communication Workers of America, press operators' union, and United Auto Workers helped to raise almost \$500,000 to launch the paper. It was printed at a union shop near Flint, Michigan, and has opened an office and newsroom near downtown Detroit.

Striking members of Teamsters Local 372, who drove delivery trucks and oversaw carriers before the strike, are handling the distribution of the new paper.

In its first editorial, entitled "Notice is served," the Detroit *Journal* made clear the unionists' determination to continue their fight. "As long as there are journalists in Detroit who care about the integrity of newspapers, as long as there are readers who hunger for a paper they can believe in, as long as there are workers who stand together in dignity and fellowship and the

strength of shared belief and sacrifice, we've got some news for the union-busting folks at Gannett and Knight-Ridder: This strike is far from over."

The appearance of the paper capped a weekend of strike activities. A November 18 fundraising dinner drew 800 strikers and their supporters. The event, sponsored by the Metropolitan Council of Newspaper Unions and the Labor/Community/Religious Coalition in Support of the Newspaper Strike, was held at United Food and Commercial Workers Local 876. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 58 took charge of the menu of roast ox and "Cajun-fried turkeys." The dinner and party raised \$6,700.

The next night, several hundred people joined the regular Saturday all-night pickets at distribution centers to delay the Sunday edition of the scab paper.

The unions have scheduled mass leafleting at stores still advertising in the struck papers during the Thanksgiving weekend. The Metropolitan Council of Newspaper Unions, the Metro Detroit Central Labor Council, and a community strike-support coalition have scheduled a concert and bazaar to benefit the strike on December 3 at IBEW Local 58 in Detroit.

A daily on-line strike paper, *The Detroit Journal*, is available on the World Wide Web at:

<http://www.rust.net/workers/strike.html>

Cat strikers may get offer

BY ANGEL LARISCY

PEORIA, Illinois — For the first time since April 1992, members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) are about to hear a new contract offer from Caterpillar Inc., the world's largest producer of heavy earth-moving and construction equipment.

The fight by union members for a contract with the company has lasted for more than four years. The UAW has been on strike for the past 17 months against the company.

The union and the company both issued statements noting progress in negotiations on November 17. Caterpillar's statement said that "few issues are yet to be resolved" and announced the company will have a new proposal for the union "in the near future."

UAW officials said the company will announce a new offer on November 28. "We will promptly take the proposal to our members for their action," said the union statement, issued after its bargaining committee met in Chicago.

Caterpillar officials said that when an agreement is ratified and strikers return to work they will participate in a three-week phase-in training period. Union members will also be required to abide by a "code of conduct" the company has implemented, which bans "offensive" T-shirts, bumper stickers, and language. Included in this ban are union slogans and use of the word "scab."

Throughout the recent strike, Caterpillar has continued production in its plants

with union line-crossers, office and managerial employees, and new hires. The company has maintained that the strike has had no impact on its operations, but it has not succeeded in winning either union members or financial analysts to this view.

"After a while, keeping a jury-rigged work force has got to cause problems that will ultimately have some long-term impact on the company," said Frank Manfredi, an industry analyst.

Likewise, most workers are not expecting that once a contract offer is signed the strife will end.

Louis Hall, an assembly line worker from Cat's Mossville plant north of Peoria said he had only been back to work three weeks after a lengthy layoff when the strike was called in June 1994.

In those three short weeks, Hall said, he saw "a lot of people fired for things like chanting or just standing up for themselves."

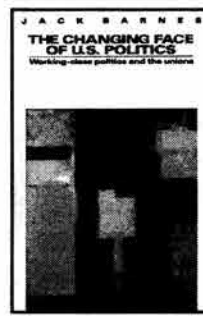
While there is much speculation about how returning workers and scabs will get along when they begin to work together, Hall said, "I'm sure some of the replacements [who weren't in the union before] can be won to the union."

Hall acknowledged he and many other union members have suffered serious hardships because of the nearly one-and-a-half-year strike. But despite the difficulties, Hall, who has been working part time in an area restaurant, said he never thought of crossing the picket line. "I stayed out because I'm union," he said.

FROM PATHFINDER

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New members explain why they join

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists, an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS or to join, write P.O. Box 2396, New York, NY 10009. Tel: (212) 475-6482, Fax: (212) 388-1659.

BY MEGAN ARNEY

MINNEAPOLIS — Young people around the country have experienced the crisis of capitalism and all the irreconcilable divisions and hatred it perpetuates. Small layers of young fighters are attracted to the Young Socialists, a revolutionary youth organization. Throughout the country YS chapters have been recruiting new members.

The Young Socialists have been building study groups and becoming known as activists in fights in their area. Throughout the country people are joining the YS because of its politics not just one issue. They are being recruited to communism and are actively engaging in learning those politics.

Bloomington, Indiana

Young Socialist member Tom Alter is building a YS chapter at the University of Indiana at Bloomington. "Students here are interested in 'what is socialism?' So we've had two classes on the *Communist Manifesto*," said Alter. They have also traveled to Chicago to participate in Militant Labor Forums, to pickets lines in Detroit supporting the striking workers at the Detroit *Free Press* and the Detroit *News*, and to New York to protest the U.S. embargo against Cuba.

The Young Socialists is a recognized student organization on campus. It has gained a reputation as a student political group that is "doing something." "Most people are attracted to the activism. We don't just talk, we act," Alter explained. Every week supporters of the *Militant* and *Pathfinder* books set up tables on campus to sell socialist literature.

Atlanta, Georgia

Salm Kolis, a supporter of the *Militant* and member of the United Auto Workers and the Socialist Workers Party in Atlanta, reports on their success in attracting young people to the Militant Labor Forum there. "Last week four students from the University of Georgia at Athens, three students from Georgia Tech, as well as two other young people came to a forum on Youth in Cuba," she said. "And over 20 of the 50 new subscriptions to the *Militant* sold by the supporters in Atlanta have been to young people."

Los Angeles, California

In Los Angeles the Young Socialists have been a part of the fights against Proposition 187 and other anti-immigrant legislature. Ahmet Ali, who recently joined the YS there, is a young worker from Chiapas, Mexico. He met the YS at an immigration rights march October 15.

He was there, he said, because "I wanted to help my people, the working class, and defend their rights and defend my rights as an immigrant worker."

With Spanish-speaking members like Ahmet Ali, the Young Socialists chapter there holds all its meetings with complete translation.

Alex Rebeles, a 16-year-old high school student, sees her participation as "part of the movement. As more people join the movement it becomes stronger. I truly believe the working class can dominate the U.S. As we see in Cuba, it is possible for youth and the working class to do it."

Seattle, Washington

In Seattle two new members became interested in socialist politics around the Socialist Workers campaign of Meg Novak, a leader of the Young Socialists in Seattle who ran for City Council, Position 1.

Two other new members, who moved to Seattle from Oregon to be part of a warehouse union organizing campaign by the Teamsters, were recruited through classes organized by the YS.

The YS has studied *The Second Declaration of Havana*, Trotsky's "A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth" in *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*, and *Socialism on Trial* by James P. Cannon. The Seattle chapter has also been involved in actions, including the rally for striking Boeing workers on November 12 as well as a rally for framed-up Native American fighter Leonard Peltier.

Twin Cities, Minnesota

Here in the Twin Cities the Young Socialists have recruited two new members. Victor Avis, 26, first met the YS at a reportback on the Cuba Lives international youth festival in his Spanish class at Normandale Community College in Bloomington, Minnesota. "I've been interested in socialist politics for a long time, but didn't know there was an organization," Avis explained.

Cindy Deichman, 22, first heard YS members speak at another Cuba Lives reportback at the Resource Center for the Americas in Minneapolis. Both traveled to Chicago October 14 for a protest against the U.S. embargo against Cuba with the Twin Cities Cuba Network (TCCN). The TCCN has organized 10 reportbacks in the area. Deichman then participated in a *Militant* sales team to her school, Mankato State University. She explained why she was attracted to socialism this way: "I want everyone to have a fair chance, and with capitalism it's impossible. So I want to fight for socialism. It's an alternative, there is hope."

The YS here holds educational events at weekly chapter meetings, reading *Lenin's Final Fight* and *State and Revolution*.

Manhattan, New York

Two people have joined the New York YS since July. Mara Geller, 24, explained why she became a member. "It's an active organization and a thinking organization,"

she said in an interview. "It's active in that it goes out into the streets and participates in protests, sells socialist literature, does politics on the job and at school. We are always learning, studying, processing, and evaluating political events."

Step by step the YS is building a communist youth organization. Most YS chapters are relatively small, but members are growing politically very fast through experiences. "It's exciting to be part of an organization that is new, because you can play a part in shaping it. Through working with the YS in organizing ourselves for the Cuba Lives youth festival last August, I saw how the organization functions, and I decided to join," Geller explained.

Another new member, Sarah Katz, 24, was "attracted to the YS because it's fighting to change the world, not concentrating on just one issue. I wanted to get involved in politics, and I was for Black rights, pro-choice, and antiwar — but I didn't know there was an organization that fought for all of these things."

Megan Arney is a member of the Young Socialists in the Twin Cities. Young Socialists members Joya Lonsdale in New York and Vanessa Knapp in Los Angeles contributed to this article.

BY HILARY JURETIC AND TOM ALTER

BLOOMINGTON, Indiana — About 25 people demonstrated here in protest of the executions of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other environmental and human rights activists in Nigeria.

The demonstration was held at a local Shell Oil gas station located at the corner of one of the busiest intersections in Bloomington. It was organized by the Indiana University student groups Conscious Oppressed Unified People (COUP) and African Griot. Participating in the demonstration were Indiana University students and faculty, members of the Bloomington community, the African Students Association, and the



Militant/Lisa Ahlberg
Young supporters of the Boeing strike in Seattle attend November 12 rally. YS members have joined picket lines in Seattle, Peoria, Detroit and elsewhere.

Young Socialists.

Critics of the Nigerian military regime say Royal Dutch Shell, a corporation that has caused massive environmental pollution in the Niger Delta, fingered Ken Saro-Wiwa to the cops and then offered two key witnesses bribes to testify against the activist. Ken Searcy, an Indiana University graduate student and demonstrator, said, "Shell believes in people over profits. Capitalism is not a system concerned with human rights. It is out to make a buck. It will exploit people; that's what I think capitalism is about."

During the demonstration, flyers were distributed to passing cars, and the protesters were met with waves, smiles, and honks of approval. After the demonstration, nine protesters met and a committee was formed to unify diverse organizations across the country in protest of Shell Oil and the Nigerian military regime.

For more information send E-mail to: coup@indiana.edu or write to P.O. Box 1304, Bloomington, IN 47402.

Hilary Juretic and Tom Alter are members of the Young Socialists and students at Indiana University.

Cuban editor visits Miami

BY ERNIE MAILHOT

MIAMI — Some 50 people attended a November 5 poetry reading and discussion with Norberto Codina and Jan Sebon at the Tap Tap Restaurant in Miami Beach.

Codina, an award winning poet from Cuba and editor of *La Gaceta de Cuba*, had stopped in Miami following a speaking tour to several cities in the United States. Sebon, a Haitian poet, painter, and musician, is a founder of the Haitian cultural group Koleksyon Kazak and is well known here as a supporter of the fight for democracy in Haiti and in defense of Haitian refugees.

The Tap Tap Restaurant is known as a center for activists in defense of Haitian rights and a number of them attended the poetry reading along with Cuban-Americans and others who oppose the economic blockade of Cuba. Some students and unionists attended as well.

Throughout the hour-long poetry reading, warm applause was given as each poet alternated reading their works. The reading was followed by a lively discussion on culture and politics in Cuba and Haiti today. Except for a disruptive reporter from Spanish-language TV Channel 51, the event went smoothly after the chairperson and audience told him to stop his outbursts.

Before his disruptions, the reporter had claimed that there is a form of apartheid in Cuba and no freedom of ex-

pression. Codina explained that in his opinion in no part of the world are people satisfied with the level of free expression but that in Cuba you can see more openings for expression, as represented in the pages of *La Gaceta*.

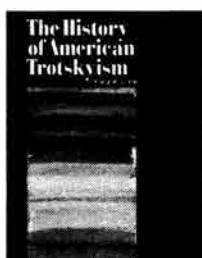
When asked about ties between Haiti and Cuba, Sebon noted that Haiti is one of the poorest countries in the world and that many Haitians look to the example of Cuba today. Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara is a hero to many Haitians, he said. "This is because Haiti is still in struggle."

Codina discussed the rich cultural ties that have existed over the years between the United States and Cuba and how the economic blockade of the island had denied the people of the United States access to Cuban culture.

While in Miami, Codina also spoke to a meeting of Veye Yo, the main Haitian rights organization in the Miami area. More than a hundred people cheered Codina's presentation. A discussion period after the talk went much longer than had been originally scheduled.

One participant in the meeting started his comments by saying, "Thank you to Cuba and our Cuban friend because Cuba is the only country that I know where there is no discrimination against Haitian people. In all the other countries — the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Bahamas, and the United States — we're discriminated against, but not in Cuba."

Read James P. Cannon, a founder of the communist movement in the U.S.



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JAMES P. CANNON

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U.S., Japan ties under growing strains

Continued from front page

Any such announcement was postponed until a Japan visit by Clinton is rescheduled. Signaling Tokyo's concern about the issue of U.S. troops, Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama called a Clinton visit "a matter of urgency." The U.S. president cancelled his trip to Osaka at the last minute to deal with another debate unfolding in Washington — how much to cut Medicare and other social programs.

Cooperation or competition?

Washington faced difficult enough problems heading into the 18-nation Asian-Pacific summit before the latest crisis erupted. In fact, the Osaka "economic cooperation forum" revealed more about rivalry in the Asian-Pacific region than cooperation.

The forum was established with great fanfare in 1993 at a meeting on Blake Island near Seattle at which Clinton presided. A 1994 meeting took place in Indonesia. This year's gathering was intended to arrive at mutually agreed-on ground rules for achieving "free trade."

The progress made was less than dazzling. The document adopted by the summit "does not even define what is meant by 'free and open trade,'" reported the *New York Times*. A principal issue is tariffs on products entering various Asian countries. Washington is eager to remove barriers to the goods produced by companies owned by wealthy U.S. families.

The forum's stated goal is to reduce tariffs, not eliminate them. Trying to put the best possible face on it, a U.S. official remarked, "That could mean zero. It could mean something more than zero."

China's assistant minister for foreign trade and economic cooperation explained, "I believe there will be several different interpretations of what has been agreed."

In the end, vague language reaffirming the goal of free trade by the year 2010 for industrialized and semi-industrialized countries and by 2020 for underdeveloped nations was approved. Again trying to convey the impression of progress in achieving Washington's goals, top U.S. trade official Mickey Kantor announced, "The train is gaining speed. No derailment at all — in fact just the opposite. We have made a step forward here at Osaka."

Agreement not binding

A more apt analogy might suggest that Washington's train was stuck on a siding. Despite Murayama's claim that the Osaka meetings were "of historic significance in that they moved APEC from vision to action," the actual agreement reached in Osaka is binding on no one and the organiza-

tion has no enforcement methods. Progress toward a "free trade zone" in Asia would rely on voluntary action and "peer pressure."

The problem facing Washington, its major rivals in Tokyo, and their junior partners throughout the region is anything but unique. Each government is striving to protect the interests of the wealthy families in its respective country and improve its economic and political position at the expense of its rivals.

The capitalist markets in Asia are booming and each capitalist class wants a bigger share of it. The "Issues" page in the November 19 *Seattle Times* captured the underlying problem. "In conflict: U.S. and Japanese interests," read the headline. "Powerful forces indicate deeper tensions lie ahead."

One of the noteworthy developments at the Osaka forum was China's announcement that it would cut tariffs on 4,000 items by an average of at least 30 percent

next year. China has been under growing pressure from Washington and Tokyo to open its market further to the penetration of goods and capital from abroad.

— CALENDAR —

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Ending 20 Years of Occupation East Timor and U.S. Foreign Policy. Speakers: Noam Chomsky; Constancio Pinto (U.S. Representative, East Timorese resistance); Amy Goodman (News Director, WBAI Radio). Sponsored by East Timor Action Network and Modern Times. Sat., Dec. 9, 2:30 p.m. *Miller Theater, Columbia University (Broadway at 116th St.)*. Tickets: \$12. For more information, call (718) 788-6071.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Rally to Celebrate Parole Victory of Mark

Curtis. Sun., Dec. 3. Sponsored by Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information, call (201) 643-3341.

BRITAIN

London

Come and hear prominent Cuban artist José Delarra speak on "Art, Culture and the Cuban Revolution." Delarra is a member of the Union of Writers and Artists in Cuba, of which he was a founder member. Tue., Dec. 12, 7:30. Exhibition of Delarra's art from 6 p.m. *Praxis in Pott Street (United Reform Church hall) (Just off Bethnal Green Rd.)*. Nearest tube: Bethnal Green.

— MILITANT LABOR FORUMS —

The Militant Labor Forum is a weekly free-speech meeting for workers, farmers, youth, and others. All those seeking to advance the fight against injustice and exploitation are welcome to attend and participate in these discussions on issues of importance to working people.

At the Militant Labor Forum you can express your opinion, listen to the views of fellow fighters, and exchange ideas on how best to advance the interests of workers and farmers the world over.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Fidel Castro Speaks in Harlem. A video of Cuban president Fidel Castro's October speech at the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York City. Sat., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m.

A First-Hand Report from the UN Women's Conference Held in China. A slide-show presentation by Dr. Martha Morgan, professor at the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, who attended the conference. Sat., Dec. 9, 7:30 p.m. *Both events held at 111 21st St. South. Donation: \$3. Tel: (205) 323-3079.*

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Support Boeing Strikers. Speakers: Bob Bruneau, striking member of International Association of Machinists Local 751A at Boeing in Seattle; Ved Dookhum, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Auto Workers Local 2244, who attended November 12 rally. Fri., Dec. 1, 7:30 p.m. *3284 23rd St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (415) 285-5323.*

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Celebrate 67 years of the Militant. An event to raise money for the Militant Fund. Speakers include Betsey Farley who reported on the 17-month-long strike at Caterpillar; others to be announced. Sun., Dec. 3, 4:00 p.m. *803 Peachtree, N.W. Donation: \$5 program, \$3 dinner. Tel: (404) 724-9759.*

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Oppose The Executions in Nigeria. Fri., Dec. 1, 7:30 p.m.

Working-Class Resistance to Capitalist Attacks on Social Gains. Speaker: John Votava, Socialist Workers Party, member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308. Fri., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m.

Both events held at 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 829-6815.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Behind Welfare Reform Hoax and Budget Crisis: Bipartisan Attack on Working People. Speaker: Mary Nell Bockman, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 1, 7:30 p.m. *780 Tremont St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.*

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

South Africa's First Nonracial Local Government Elections. Panel discussion. Fri., Dec. 1, 7:30 p.m. *1906 South St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (215) 546-8218.*

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International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal — 14th Anniversary of Mumia's arrest

Mumia Activist Conference

Philadelphia, PA.

Fri., Dec. 8
4 to 8 p.m.

Town meeting against the death penalty. Quaker Meeting House, 4th & Arch.

Sat., Dec. 9
10:00 a.m. to 7 p.m.

Activist Conference

A day of workshops and networking for those organizing for the freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Legal questions will be addressed and new projects will be discussed and planned. Calvary Church, 48th & Baltimore Avenue.

Sun., Dec. 10
7 p.m. to 2:00 a.m.

Rap against death penalty featuring KRS-ONE.

Benefit for the International Concerned Family & Friends. Second Cousins, 5th & Rockland Sts.

Housing for the weekend available. For more information call (215) 563-872.

He does create jobs — It caused a flap in Canada's Ontario province when Social Services Minister David Tsubouchi assured that the impoverished could eat well on \$90 a month. The flap got louder when it was disclosed



Harry Ring

that he had hired an image consultant at \$1,200 a day.

It ain't the messenger — Corporate studies are finding a steady

rise in workplace alienation, discontent, and frustration. One consulting group that did a survey said they were "so amazed at the vehemence of workers that we wondered if we had in some way contaminated the study." A second consulting outfit came in. It found the study and findings "sound and reliable."

Being a lawyer isn't good enough? — A student about to graduate from Hastings College of the Law in San Francisco was busted as a suspect in as many as a dozen area bank robberies.

'A few bad apples' — Jersey City cops failed to return to their owners more than 100 cars that

were towed or recovered after being stolen. Notification letters to owners were deliberately misaddressed so they would come back undeliverable. A car not claimed in 30 days becomes city property. Sixty of the cars were auctioned to cops at rigged prices.

Pushers Intl. — R.J. Reynolds Tobacco agreed to supply Bucharest, Romania's cash-strapped capital, with traffic light bulbs for a year. The yellow lights bore the Camel logo.

Enthused the operator who set up the 1993 deal, "It was really fantastic at night when only the yellow lights were on and you'd just see the camel everywhere, blinking on and off."

'If you can't beat them...' — "For microchips, for oven chips, computer chips, we thank you Lord/For ocean waves, for microwaves, for radio waves, we thank you Lord/For floppy discs, for compact discs, computer discs, we thank you Lord" — From the Big Blue Planet songbook issued by the United Kingdom's Methodist church to make worship more relevant for the under-eight audience.

Don't leave home without it — As cited in the *New York Times* Sunday travel section: The Pedipocket, a battery-powered manicure and pedicure device that can polish and trim nails. \$44.95, plus \$5 shipping.

Carefully managed care — A California jury awarded damages to the husband and son of cancer victim Joyce Ching. For three months she had complained to her doctors of stomach pain but they didn't send her to a specialist until her husband refused to leave their office without a referral. A specialist found she had cancer. Why did the doctors balk? Because the HMO they work with requires them to pay the first \$5,000 of the cost of such referrals.

Thought for the week — "This sends a clear message that when you mix incentives and money with medicine it equals death." — Mark Helper, attorney for the Ching family.

Gov't, rail bosses at fault in fatal Chicago crash

BY RAY PARSONS

CHICAGO — Seven high school students were killed October 25 when a high speed commuter train crashed into their school bus at a railroad crossing in Fox River Grove, 40 miles northwest of Chicago. More than 25 others were injured.

The bus driver had started over the two Union-Pacific Railroad tracks after checking for oncoming trains. The crossing lights, bells, and gates were off. Less than 50 feet beyond, however, the bus was stopped by a traffic light governing the four lane highway running parallel to the rail line, and the rear of the school bus did not clear the tracks. Seconds later, a seven car Metra express headed for downtown Chicago appeared.

The teenagers in the rear of the bus realized they were going to be hit. Passing motorists yelled for the bus to move clear of the tracks. But the bus driver was waiting for the light to turn green and did not hear the horn of the oncoming train, nor understand the shouts of the students in time. The train engineer threw the brakes in full emergency application, but struck the bus at an estimated 60 mph.

Witnesses ran to help the injured. Helen Getchell, a registered nurse, was buying coffee nearby when she heard and felt the impact. She tended to the most seriously hurt, including a 14-year-old boy who died in her arms.

Investigators from the National Transportation Safety Board found serious flaws in the warning signals at this crossing. The lights and gates are designed to work together with the traffic signal at the nearby intersection so that traffic backed up over the railroad tracks are given a green light as a train approaches and allowed to clear the rail line quickly.

Testing of the system after the crash confirmed that, in some instances, drivers had no more than two seconds to move off the crossing, and that the equipment was inadequate for use with high speed trains.

A similar accident involving a pickup truck had occurred five weeks before. Afterwards, a repairman urged that the timing of the signals be examined, but his warning was ignored. Police officials were investigating more recent complaints about the signal system and were at the crossing when the school bus was hit.

Little regard for life

Officials of the Union Pacific railroad and of the Illinois Transportation Department have sought to put blame on one another, asserting that the components of the system each are responsible for were in working order. "There's no problem with that signaling from the railroad's point of view," said UP spokesman Mark Davis.

There are 115 crossings with similar layouts in the Chicago area and as many as 3,000 nationwide. The state of Illinois ranks second, behind Texas, in railroad crossing fatalities. In the last four years, nearly 200 people have been killed when struck by trains at crossings in the state. Half have been in the Chicago area, and in the last two years these casualty rates have been increasing. In 1994 alone, 610 people were killed at rail crossings in the United States and 1,923 were injured.

Chicago is a center of the railroad industry in North America. More than 18 different railroads converge on and crisscross the city. On top of this is an extensive commuter service run by Metra over

the same main track, at speeds up to 69 mph. More than 1,000 street-level crossings exist in the Chicago area.

The October 25 tragedy has put a spotlight on the criminal lack of rail safety that exists in the United States. In this instance, the railroad and state are both to blame for poorly designed and poorly maintained warning equipment.

For many years, "train whistle bans" have been in effect in the city and in 35 towns and villages in surrounding counties. With these prohibitions, commuter trains racing at high speed and freight trains weighing as much as 15,000 tons approach crossings at odds with car traffic and with pedestrians, but do not blow the locomotive's loud horn or whistle. Nearby residents complain of the noise.

But numerous studies have shown that crashes triple at crossings where whistle bans are in effect; the frequency of collisions at crossing where horns are not blown is 84 percent higher than at those where they are sounded. Crossings with whistle bans are equipped with gates and warning lights, but crash rates are still lower where the locomotive sounds the horn. In 1996, however, a new federal law comes into effect, overriding local bans. Most railworkers welcome this.

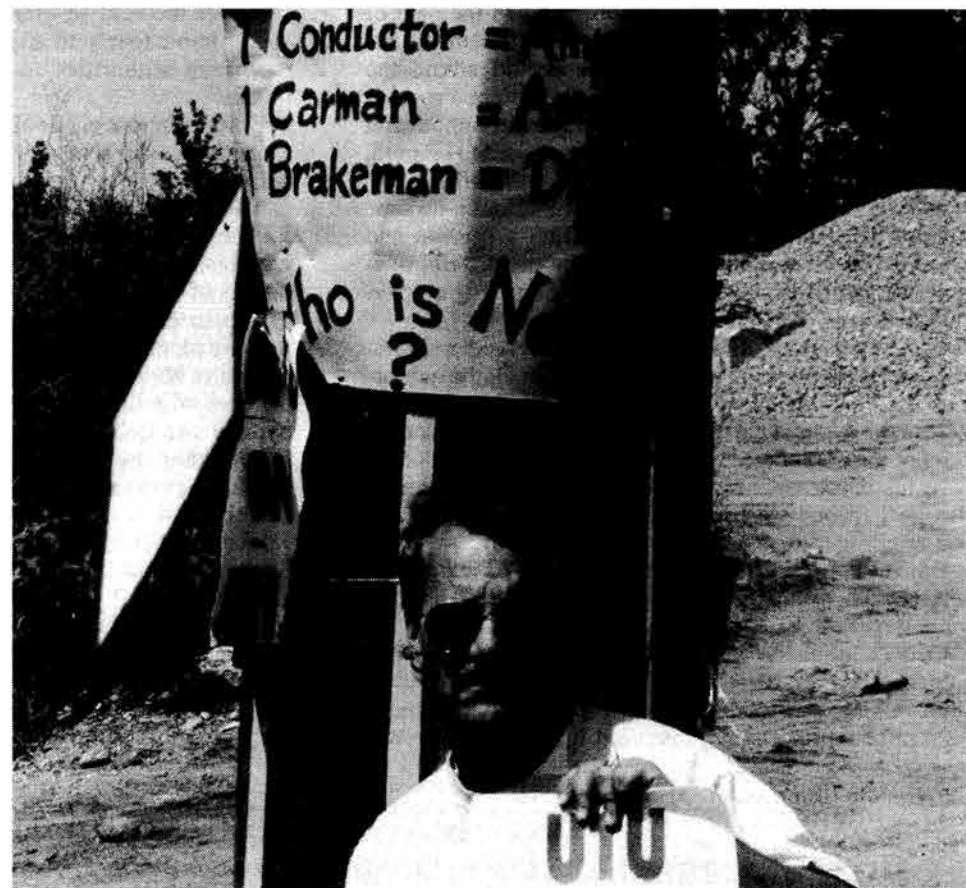
Rail safety has emerged as a major issue in the media since the bus tragedy. The mayor of Chicago, Richard Daley, for example, ordered a review of crossings in the city, and noted, "The rail industry is a huge industry in America, and they have to talk about safety...they have a responsibility to people in the communities." The Democratic Party politician did not, however, voice such concern during the strike by United Transportation Union against the Soo Line Railroad in the summer of 1994, when freight trains operated by management were involved in a number of accidents and nearly crashed into commuter trains on two occasions.

Thousands of crossings around the United States have no warning signals of any kind, especially in the countryside. Others have lights, bells, and gates. We must demand that the railroads and government install more such protection, but also that better systems are needed that give more warning of oncoming trains and more securely close off the crossing. The October 25 collision and many others that have occurred show that current systems are inadequate and unreliable.

The only way to reduce accidents to zero is to eliminate crossings. This is what is immediately posed in hundreds of locations around Chicago and other urban areas. We cannot accept railroad and government assertions that there is no money to build the bridges or tunnels needed. The railroad barons have made record profits.

Railworkers, through our unions, are in the best position to lead the fight for rail crossing safety. We can speak with authority about the horrors that have occurred and what must be done to end them. We can bring union power to bear in forcing our employers and the government to correct these dangers. And as we do this, we will win new support and solidarity from a broad layer of workers for future fights in defense of safety and jobs.

Ray Parsons is a member of United Transportation Union Local 620 and is a switchman at Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad, in Cicero, Illinois.



Militant/Jon Hillson

Picket at Soo Line railroad near St. Paul, Minnesota, 1994. Politicians showed little concern for railroad safety during that strike, where jobs and safety were key issues.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

December 4, 1970

Price 10¢

SASKATOON, Canada — Over the Nov. 20-21 weekend between 200 and 300 women converged on the University of Saskatoon for the first national conference of the Canadian women's liberation movement. The attendance and breadth of the conference were considered a great success by conference participants.

The conference was dominated by a debate over the nature and strategy of the women's movement, with some of the participants condemning the whole women's movement as it exists now as "middle-class" and "liberal."

Toward the end of the conference, however, when it became clear that the conference was in essence split, a workshop was held by women who were concerned that some coordinated, common action should come out of the conference. The workshop accepted a proposal for a campaign of activities on the issue of free abortion on demand, culminating in a day of protests across Canada on Feb. 14. This was the only action proposal to come out of the conference.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

December 1, 1945

DETROIT, Nov. 21 — The biggest industrial strike in the nation's history started at 11 o'clock this morning when

225,000 members of the CIO United Automobile Workers poured out of 102 General Motors plants from coast to coast, to fight for a 30 per cent wage increase.

This strike is a culmination of unsuccessful negotiations begun with the world's largest industrial corporation three months ago in an attempt to bring take-home pay more nearly in line with the cost in line with the cost of living.

Angered by the refusal of the corporation to negotiate in good faith and goaded beyond endurance by company provocations in the plants, the GM workers have met the corporation's arrogant, insulting, union-busting tactics with the grim determination to fight it out on the picket lines.

Precisely at 11 a.m., as whistles blew in the distance and gongs rang out inside the plants, those waiting outside the gates shouted "Here they come!" The strikers began pouring out, first in tens, then hundreds, then thousands.

Although most of the GM plants here have laid off women workers, and hired men to take their places in violation of seniority rights, Ternstedt, a unit of West Side Local 174, proved to be an exception. This was evident from the many women workers on the picket lines, and confirmed by a conversation with picket captain Robert Walker.

He reported that the women, comprising about half the Ternstedt employees, were "very solid" and ready to fight the wage issue through to the finish. "They would holler their heads off," he said, "at any proposal from the company to accept the union's arbitration offer at this late date. They're out and they're going to stay out." Attractive picket hats, designed in beret style especially for women and bearing the Local 174 insignia, were being issued to the women pickets.

Curtis parole: victory for workers

The November 21 decision by the Iowa Board of Parole to release Mark Curtis from prison registers a hard-fought victory for fighting workers, youth, and many others around the world. The decision to parole Curtis after more than seven years of incarceration on frame-up rape and burglary charges was by no means a given.

The frame-up of Mark Curtis was designed to punish him severely and to break him as a political person, branding him as a rapist in the process. The authorities sought to make their punishment of Curtis an example that could be used to intimidate workers from defending their rights. They also hoped to tar the Socialist Workers Party, Curtis's party, in the eyes of fighting workers and to demoralize Curtis supporters everywhere.

Instead Curtis will leave prison in several weeks with his head high. He is today held in esteem by a layer of fighters not only in the United States but around the globe — from South Africa to Cuba, from New Zealand to Brazil.

Iowa officials threw repeated obstacles in the path of parole for the union militant. Parole board members argued for several years that Curtis should attend the prison system's Sexual Offenders Treatment Program (SOTP). Curtis maintained his innocence throughout and refused to let his dignity be dragged into the SOTP mud, where inmates are pressured to "admit their guilt."

In 1993, after Curtis had served out the frame-up rape charge, the board declined to grant him a hearing and ordered that he be sent to a psychiatric prison. But officials at that prison refused to accept him, saying no psychiatric issues were involved in his case.

In August 1994, shortly after he received a "gate-pass" and was working in the prison hospital, the authorities used a minor incident to throw Curtis into punitive lockup for the next eleven months, claiming he assaulted another inmate.

At his parole hearing this year, parole board member Joanne Lorence warned Curtis, "If you stub your toe, you're going to be back in here."

But these efforts to break Mark Curtis as a political person with his integrity intact and to demoralize his supporters failed.

Curtis's intransigence and continuing political activity behind prison walls stand as an example for working-class fighters the world over. No matter what penitentiary prison authorities transferred the political activist

to, he battled for prisoners' rights. He fought along with other inmates — often successfully — to establish prisoners' ability to receive materials in languages other than English, to ensure they can participate in political activities inside jail, and to maximize his and others contact with the class struggle beyond prison bars.

The determined effort by Curtis supporters to explain the facts of his case and to work for his release also paid off. Nearly 500 people wrote the parole board since July asking, "Why is Mark Curtis still in prison?" An additional 5,000 letters from peasants in Brazil who were attending the convention of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers were sent in this summer.

The length of time Mark Curtis served in jail, now more than 86 months, and the support he received for his request for parole, which was measurably growing with each passing month, were factors that contributed to the parole board's November 21 decision.

Supporters of this fight for justice must remain vigilant over the next several weeks and be prepared to respond immediately to any further attempts by the Iowa or prison authorities to delay Curtis's release from prison.

Curtis supporters should make their top priority to inform those who wrote the board about the victory they helped win.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee also needs funds for the legal costs of the parole effort as Curtis works with his attorneys to organize and make secure his conditions of release to parole within two months.

Supporters of Mark Curtis everywhere should press forward along these lines, continuing above all to sell the pamphlet *Why is Mark Curtis Still in Prison?*, discussing the case with fighters on the picket lines from Detroit to Sydney and Belfast, and reaching out to youth attracted to defending the Cuban revolution and involved in other political activities.

This kind of consistent effort over the next several weeks and beyond will ensure the best possible conditions for Curtis when he leaves the Iowa State Penitentiary.

In the meantime, the *Militant* joins the celebrations with intransigent communist militant Mark Curtis and the thousands of other fighters around the world who made possible this victory for working people worldwide.

Help Mark Curtis take the final steps to freedom! Make a donation to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
ORGANIZATION* _____

*For identification only. Make out checks to Mark Curtis Defense Committee and send to: P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, IA 50311.

Paris in cahoots with Algeria army

The governments in France and Algeria hope the November 16 election of former general Liamine Zéroual will provide for a more stable regime to protect capitalist interests in Algeria. The ballot excluded the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), which together with other opposition parties called for a boycott. The election, carried out under the watchful eye of tens of thousands of government troops, is unlikely to produce the desired effect, as workers and youth in Algeria continue to fight for their rights.

A civil war has been raging in Algeria over the past four years — in large part due to the foreign policy of the imperialist rulers of France, Algeria's former colonial overlord. Some 40,000 people have been killed in the war, nearly two thirds the number of U.S. soldiers killed in Vietnam.

The Socialist Party government of then-president François Mitterrand collaborated with the Algerian military in 1992 to block the FIS's election victory. The French government has been especially generous in securing arms and money for the regime's ongoing war against the FIS. In Paris's eyes the bourgeois FIS is not controllable enough to be counted on.

The current French government of president Jacques Chirac continues to aid the military junta in Algeria and has launched an anti-Arab campaign of harassment and intimidation against the large North African population in France under the so-called Vigipirate plan. This undemocratic series of measures allows large-scale searches and arrests of North Africans, and the deporta-

tion of government opponents. The police killing of one Algerian immigrant was broadcast on television.

Paris and its junior partner in Algiers justify their repressive measures as necessary to prevent "terrorism" and stop "Islamic fanatics" from taking control in that North African country. But the French capitalists simply want to maintain a trustworthy client and not lose an important market they have in Africa.

The capitalist rulers in Paris are also concerned about the impact of the struggle in Algeria on immigrant workers in France. Immigrants from North Africa and other predominantly Muslim countries make up about 5 percent of the country's population; there are 1 million residents of Algerian descent. They are an important percentage of the industrial working class.

For workers in other parts of the world, the events in Algeria and the treatment of Algerian workers in France are important questions. The French government is cracking down on the rights of immigrants as it increasingly attempts to put the squeeze on the working class across the board.

The anti-Arab campaign has paved the way for wider attacks on workers in France, with selective bans on demonstrations for "public security" and book bannings. The government is keeping its eyes open for other opportunities to expand repressive measures.

Working people around the world need to champion the fight for the rights of immigrants in France as well as the struggles by workers in Algeria against repression and economic austerity.

The Irish question

MANCHESTER, England — Tami Peterson's letter raises a number of important questions in understanding the fight for Irish self-determination. Ireland is one country subject to two governments, artificially partitioned since 1921. The question of self-determination has to do with the entire Irish nation — all 32 counties.

As the letter indicates, there was a mass, democratic revolution in Ireland in 1920 that made substantial headway in establishing Irish independence. This, by the way, is what led to the independence of Eire, not the formal withdrawal from the British Commonwealth. But this revolution was met by a ferocious capitalist-led counterrevolution, and stopped short of completing the

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

struggle for independence. Instead, while a weak capitalist state was established in the South, the six northeastern counties were separated and remained directly under the colonial boot of Westminster within the UK.

The aim of partition, however, was to divide the working class of Ireland as a whole, and thereby to salvage for continued exploitation the whole of Ireland by British imperialism, along with its junior capitalist partner in Dublin. To this day the republic in the South remains economically dominated by London, just like other semicolonial nations oppressed by imperialism.

In other words, there was not a separate democratic revolution in the 26 counties. The republic came into being as the result of the frustration and interruption of the revolution in Ireland as a whole.

Every fight for democratic and social rights, in both North and South, is hindered by the division of Ireland. Divorce today is still illegal in Eire (although this might change with the November 24 referendum). Homosexuality was decriminalized only in 1993. An important legal precedent was set in 1992 for the right to travel to seek abortion, but the procedure remains illegal in Ireland in most cases.

So long as the national question remains unresolved and the Irish nation remains divided, progress even on these questions will be limited. In that sense working people in the North and the South face the same tasks today. Likewise, the victory of the struggle against British rule and for a united republic will help open the road to a socialist revolution in Ireland as a whole.

The letter asks if "apartheid" and "police state" are accurate descriptions of what exists in Northern Ireland today. While similarities can be drawn, it's important to recognize that apartheid South Africa was the product of unique historic conditions.

Firstly, Northern Ireland is not an independent state but constitutionally part of the United Kingdom. London's rule has been maintained through the force and violence of the British army and the local cops of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, as well as pro-British paramilitary outfits. It is built on systematic discrimination against workers who are Catholic. But it is not the same as apartheid South Africa, where the entire state structure institutionalized and enforced the relegation of Africans to the condition of a caste, with no rights of citizenship. For example, every citizen in Northern Ireland has the right to vote — a gain of the mass civil rights struggles of the 1960s and early 1970s. In South Africa it was impossible to win this right without abolishing apartheid itself. Unlike South Africa, what is posed in Ireland is ending colonial rule.

Similarly, if what is meant by a police state is one where the pretense of bourgeois democracy has been completely replaced with rule by executive order and naked state violence, such a label is not accurate for Northern Ireland. It would also imply that the working class has suffered shattering defeats, whereas in reality Northern Ireland is marked by the unbroken resistance of working people to British rule. — ANNE HOWIE

Algerian elections

Continued from back page

wounded 200, as a pretext for a massive campaign of harassment, intimidation, and deportations.

Paris has continued to back the Zéroual regime in its battle to block the fundamentalist Muslims from establishing a government and in the process to keep in check resistance by working people to government austerity policies. Paris gives the Algerian government \$1.2 billion a year in aid and has arranged for more money through the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The French government hopes the elections will give Zéroual and other capitalist politicians in Algiers leverage to negotiate the setting of parliamentary elections that would involve all political parties — allowing for the FIS to participate but setting conditions to prevent it from winning again.

Not all big-business commentators believe this is possible. An October 26 *Wall Street Journal* editorial said it is a significant problem that "the army and the deadly Armed Islamic Group both still seem to think they can win the war.... The only chance for ending Algeria's war, seems to be one that essentially rolls the clock back to the period in 1992 when the popular will was suppressed."

Pathfinder is an attraction at Swedish bookfair

Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom, publishes books and pamphlets by revolutionary and working-class leaders. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.

In cooperation with the Swedish PEN-club, the Salman Rushdie Committee, Reporters Without Borders, and the organization Article 19 in London, the theme of the 11th Gothenburg bookfair was freedom of expression. About

Doesn't End. Ny International, a Swedish-language magazine of Marxist politics and theory, carries many articles also published in *New International*.

Among the 12 people who purchased *Ny International* no. 2, published this past spring, were two teachers from Svalöv, a small community in southern Sweden. "This is exactly what we need to get some discussions going about the world we are living in today," said one teacher.

Interest was high in titles on the origins of women's oppression and the road to liberation. Five books and one pamphlet by Eve-

her husband as well as *Ny International* no. 2 in Swedish.

A young woman who had organized an antiracist group in Hjo, a small village in the south of Sweden, was interested in arranging a time when volunteers from the Pathfinder bookshop in Stockholm could bring a selection of the books to her village. She picked up a copy of *Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It* by Leon Trotsky. A young Kurd from the north of Iraq bought the pamphlet *Too Many Babies? The Myth of the Population Explosion* by Joseph Hansen and *Socialism and Man in Cuba* by Che Guevara in Swedish.

Thirty-nine books and 23 pamphlets were sold, totaling \$760.

faculty to order," wrote Hunt. Among the titles were *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* by Jack Barnes, *The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara*, and *The History of American Trotskyism* by James P. Cannon. The manager of the bookshop at Roskilde University placed a small order, including *To See the Dawn*, and asked for some catalogs to show to teachers at the university.

♦

A review by Jürgen Tampke of *To See the Dawn: Baku, 1920—First Congress of the Peoples of the East* appeared in an issue of *International Scientific Correspondence of the History of the German Workers Movement* earlier this year.

To See the Dawn is the fifth volume in the series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*. This series presents documents and proceedings of the congresses of the Communist International held under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. The volumes published to date cover the preparatory years from 1907 to 1918, and the first and second congresses in 1919 and 1920. The historic meeting in Baku was the first congress of the peoples of the East.

"The congress opened on August 31 [1920] and closed September 7. The mood was buoyant and most speakers called for the end of imperialism and for the consolidation or establishment of soviet power," Tampke said in the review. "As history was to show the optimism of the congress was unwarranted. Stalin and Stalinism...killed the spirit of Baku. It is only now, according to [editors] John Riddell and Ma'mud Shirvani—with the Soviet Empire gone, that the struggle of the exploited people of the earth will recommence, as current events show."



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

By Maggie Pucci

100,000 people—more than any previous year—visited the fair, which is a big cultural event in Sweden every year. Organizers of the fair estimate that 70 percent of the visitors were women.

For the fourth year in a row, a team of Pathfinder supporters from Sweden and the United Kingdom set up a booth from October 26-29. "The social crisis in Sweden and international events like Cuban leader Fidel Castro's visit to New York were on people's minds," reported Brigitta Isacson from Stockholm. "That explains the impact the big displays had on people passing by."

The booth featured displays on *Ny International* no. 2, containing the article "Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War," and *To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba*

lyn Reed were sold. "A young man saw the display of *Sexism and Science*," Isacson wrote, "but since it was already sold out he bought *Problems of Women's Liberation* instead so as to, as he said, 'get more knowledge about women's liberation.'"

Many young people wanted to discuss the differences in political perspectives of Malcolm X and Louis Farrakhan, resulting in sales of 12 items by Malcolm X, including three copies of the book *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*.

The growing number of immigrant workers in Sweden was reflected in sales of titles in Farsi. *Opening Guns of World War III* in Farsi sold out in the first hours of the fair. This book contains the lead article in issue no. 7 of *New International*, published after the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 1991. One woman bought this book for

Tony Hunt from London recently visited three university towns in Denmark, placing 71 books and pamphlets in bookshops, academic departments, and with book distributors in Aarhus, Odense, and Roskilde. "You haven't changed your publishing policy; that's good," commented a bookseller in Aarhus who ordered 25 books from Hunt.

The buyer at the university bookshop in Aarhus ordered 16 books, including *The Origins of Materialism* by George Novack, *Woman's Evolution* by Reed, and *Problems of Everyday Life* by Trotsky. He placed this order after explaining he thought there was a reluctance to read the writings and speeches of working-class leaders since Marxists had once dominated Denmark's university departments.

"A book distributor in Aarhus who supplies the Political Science department at the university placed an order for 18 books and pamphlets, which will be exhibited at the department for students and

LETTERS

Revolution in Ireland

In an editorial in issue no. 36 of the *Militant*, entitled "Help Advance Irish Struggle," you mention that "the momentum is on the side of the democratic revolution in Ireland." I am wondering whether or not the struggle in the whole 32 counties of Ireland is a "democratic revolution."

Around 1948, the 26 counties of Ireland left the Commonwealth and won that small gain of independence, while the six counties—Northern Ireland—remained British property because of the partition of that statelet in 1921. Therefore isn't the system in Northern Ireland today different than the system in the rest of Ireland, namely the 26 counties?

And what exactly is the system that Ireland is currently under in the 26 counties? Semi-colonial, or an underdeveloped capitalist system?

I know many who would characterize the system in Northern Ireland as nothing less than "apartheid" or a "police state" because of the continued forced separation along religious and class lines there. Are these correct characterizations of the system there? It would seem to be the case.

By understanding this, we can correctly identify what exactly is taking place in Ireland today. It is undoubted that the fight there is to gain democracy and is a step forward for the working class, but aren't the 26 counties of Ireland already under a capitalist system, which would mean that the transformation through a "democratic revolution" and that evolutionary step has already occurred?

I have often heard the comparison of Ireland to South Africa. Though the struggles are similar in many ways, what happened in South Africa was in fact a democratic revolution where apartheid was abolished. I believe that there is in fact a process of "democratic revolution" taking place in Northern Ireland because of the system which exists in the six counties. But this, while being a boost to the

working class in the whole of Ireland, remains the situation in Northern Ireland alone.

Hopefully, the *Militant* can help to clarify this political question. Also, please keep up the coverage of the Irish struggle, it is helpful in understanding and thinking out these questions and many others.
Tami Peterson
San Francisco, California

Class politics, 'gun rights'

The letter below was written in response to a letter by Ed Meredith that appeared in this column in the September 25, 1995, *Militant*, under title "On gun control, militias"—Editor.

Dear Ed,

In the *Militant* of September 25 you criticize the *Militant* and the [Socialist Workers] Party for "not addressing the issues succinctly and clearly and by not stating our position on the issues." O.K. Ed. Let's really talk about politics.

In the Delaware area, the highest price a dairy farmer gets for his milk is \$14 per hundred-weight, about \$1.20 per gallon. Milk processing costs about eight cents per gallon. At ACME, the working farmer gets to purchase milk at \$2.80 per gallon. Get the picture Ed? Those who do the work and produce the food are paid \$1.28 per gallon and those who do no work and produce nothing are paid \$1.52 per gallon and that's the way it is under capitalism.

The function of the state is to preserve the economic relations that permit the capitalist class to go on looting the rest of us. What happens when the newspaper workers go on strike in Detroit? The cops are sent to make sure the scab truck drivers get through the picket line.

When the family farmers in Iowa protest against the impact of giant hog farming operations and their multimillion-gallon waste lagoons, the cops (the state) intervene to defend the polluters. I think that the State of Iowa ordering farmers to take down protest



signs is a more serious threat than any move against "gun rights."

Real politics, for our class, begins with the fact that most of what we produce ends up in someone else's pocket. The problem that we have with government is not that it exists, but that it belongs to someone else.

That can be changed only through a political struggle. The kind of political fight the SWP is waging out in Iowa; a fight for an end to farm foreclosures, a fight to open the books of the agribiz monopolies. Go back four issues and read the Iowa program and read Doug Jenness's two pamphlets, *An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis* and *Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990's*; these will give you some political ideas to try on the neighbors.

Anyone who says that M15s or explosives will get you higher milk prices, or save your farm from foreclosure, is either plain nuts, or a cynical liar. The good ole boys in Caneyville need a good dose of truth, not someone to echo their illusions.

In the September 18 *Militant* Fidel Castro is quoted "... the key

to all this is power. Who holds power, the big landowners, the bourgeoisie, the wealthy?... All land is in the hands of the Cuban *campesinos* (farmers) and agricultural workers... Not one hospital, not one school has been privatized and the country owns the overwhelming majority of its wealth."

Wish we could say as much here. Which side are you on Ed; a socialist future where our class rules, no kid goes hungry and no farmer has to fear foreclosure, or a society of poverty and greed, with World War III around the corner? The choice is a clear one, either the socialist movement or the Rush Limbaugh fan club, with assault rifles and funny uniforms.

I don't think we need to talk about "gun rights" again. The SWP is against the "Omnibus Crime Bill," every bit of it, including "gun control."

If you want to get mad, get mad about something real. Mark Curtis has spent more than seven years in prison, just because he is a socialist and a unionist who stood up for immigrant workers, that's worth getting mad about. How about the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a reporter on death row for exposing

police corruption and brutality; isn't that worth getting mad about?

Roy Inglee
Wilmington, Delaware

Japan, Australia

Doug Cooper is quite right when he points out the error in my review of two books on the bombing of Hiroshima.

The review reads that "By the spring of 1942... [Japanese] troops were at the threshold of invading Australia." The original statement in the review read: "By 1942... [Japanese] troops were at the threshold of India and also controlled most of eastern China."

Somehow it was changed during the course of editing and was not caught before it was printed.

I'm glad that Doug was so alert and wrote to correct the mistake. The truth is that Japanese imperialism was not strong enough to attack, let alone occupy, Australia.

Their primary interest in southern Asia was in obtaining the raw materials, essentially oil but also including rubber, nickel, tin and bauxite that were abundant in the Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia) and Malaysia. Their military strategy flowed from this perspective and consequently at no time did Tokyo contemplate an invasion of Australia.

Patti Ilyama
Houston, Texas

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers.

Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

'Stop anti-Arab campaign in France!'

The following is a statement issued November 15 by the Communist Organizing Committee in Paris on the wave of attacks against Algerian and other immigrants by the French government. The statement was titled "Don't let the government attack our democratic rights!" The translation from French and subheadings are by the *Militant*.

Since July 1995 the government has carried out an offensive against democratic rights. Terrorist attacks are the pretext. The Communist Organizing Committee calls on workers and all their political and union organizations, on the antiracist groups and partisans of democratic rights, to defend these rights won at such great cost through decades of struggle. The police, in carrying out "probes and investigations," are trampling on rights such as the presumption of innocence, the right to a fair trial, protection against illegal search and seizure, freedom of association without police infiltration, and the right to move about freely.

The terrorist attacks that have taken place, killing and wounding dozens of men, women, and children, have nothing whatever to do with the fight against exploitation and oppression — no matter who carried them out. These methods are categorically rejected by revolutionaries and class-conscious workers.

Since the "Vigipirate" plan was first implemented on Sept. 7, 1995, nearly 2 million identity checks have been carried out against youth and workers. Hundreds of workers from Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe have been deported by charter plane or other means, with no organized response.

The terrorist attacks have even been used as a pretext for striking a blow at the right to demonstrate. In September the government banned a Greenpeace demonstration against nuclear tests for "reasons of public security."

Two books have been banned by the government and withdrawn from bookstores under the pretext that they are a "threat to public order." One of them, *Le Livre Blanc sur la Répression en Algérie (1991-1994)* [White Book on Repression in Algeria] is a compilation of testimony on arbitrary arrests and use of torture and executions by the Algerian army and cops.

Cops consider all Muslims suspects

For months every Muslim worker and youth has been considered a suspect by the police. Young workers living in the housing projects on the outskirts of Paris — the first victims of unemployment, racism, and cop violence — are accused by the government of being potential terrorists.

Police spying and infiltration in youth and neighborhood organizations have become common. Police provocations and acts of racist cop violence are everyday occurrences. In Laval, Marseilles, Vaulx-en-Velin, and elsewhere the list of youth of Arab origin who are killed or brutalized by the police grows every day.

We are witnessing a veritable anti-Islamic and anti-Arab campaign on television and in the press, singling out and scapegoating a category of workers. Being a Muslim and having a beard makes any worker suspect!

French state is greatest terrorist

Workers must never lose sight of the fact that it is the French state that is one of the greatest terrorists in the world.

It is the French capitalist state that waves the threat of nuclear terror in the face of the world, 50 years after the massacres in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It is the French state that armed, financed, and backed to the hilt the previous regime in Rwanda, which was responsible for the massacre of 500,000 people in 1994.

It is the French capitalist state that practiced torture and terrorism on a mass scale



Communist Organizing Committee member Jean-Louis Salfati (center) talks with high school students in Paris, where some were expelled for wearing scarves.

during the 1954-62 Algerian war. We must remember that 1 million Algerians were killed during that dirty war.

It was the French state that killed in cold blood, using a rifle with telescopic sights, Elou Machoro, the pro-independence leader in New Caledonia, in 1985.

It was the French secret service, carrying out orders from Paris, that sank the Greenpeace vessel *Rainbow Warrior* in 1985, killing one person.

Using the terrorist attacks as a pretext, the "antiterrorist" prosecutors now have, through the adoption of the antiterrorist laws in 1986 and the Pasqua laws in 1993, a legal arsenal that allows them to take a series of extraordinary measures: car searches, identity checks, prolonged detention at police stations, raids and searches anywhere, anytime, special trials before professional magistrates, and so on.

Vigipirate plan unleashes army

The Vigipirate plan, previously used during the Persian Gulf War in January 1991, consists of using the army in the tasks of controlling and carrying out surveillance of the population. Today almost 32,000 soldiers, riot police, regular cops, and customs police are mobilized in this way. The plan includes stepped-up surveillance of public establishments and schools and prohibits gatherings in front of high schools.

The government is seeking to accustom

people to seeing the army patrol the streets. In Strasbourg, the army has been used in working-class neighborhoods and the mass transit system for "maintaining order." After many protests from the population, the prefect had to rescind this measure.

A new antiterrorist bill, proposed by the government in October, would extend the powers of the police: nighttime searches will now be legal; the list of offenses considered acts of terrorism under the penal code is longer. For instance, abetting the entry or irregular stay by a foreigner, "in relation to an individual or collective undertaking aimed at seriously disturbing public order through intimidation or terror," now falls under the antiterrorist law, its extraordinary procedures, and its heavier sentences.

This new legislation furthermore contains provisions to "strengthen the repression of attacks committed against law enforcement officials, public authorities, and, in particular, members and officers of the national police, the customs department, and the prison system."

For example, a violent act against a cop causing permanent injury is to be punished with 20 years imprisonment, if carried out by several persons. All sorts of provocations and frame-ups are possible against workers who occupy factories and students who go on strike.

The government is preparing a full-

scale attack against social security, pensions, and many other social gains. Curtailing workers' democratic rights and creating divisions between native-born and immigrant workers are part of this arsenal used by the capitalists against us.

French imperialism in Algeria

The French government is also openly using the present attacks to take an active part in the civil war in Algeria. French imperialism has considerable interests in that country.

Algeria's payments on its FF50 billion [\$10 billion] foreign debt continue to fill the coffers of several big capitalist banks, especially the French banks.

Recently, International Monetary Fund president Michel Camdessus congratulated the government of Algeria for implementing a draconian austerity plan and making regular interest payments on its foreign debt. And it is the Algerian people who foot the bill: privatizations, freeing of prices, massive unemployment.

To contain the resistance by Algerian workers and peasants to this policy, the Algerian government called off the elections in 1993, installed the army in power, and carried out three years of terrible repression against the entire population. Forty thousand men and women have been killed in Algeria in the last four years!

The French government is organizing roundups and deportations of members of the Algerian opposition milieu living in France. The big French banks are trying to prop up the military junta of Liamine Zéroual, whom they see as the best guarantor of their interests.

Stop the deportations!

For all these reasons the Communist Organizing Committee affirms that all measures taken by the government, including the Vigipirate plan, are directed against the workers — *all workers*.

The main aims of this hysterical campaign by the government — echoed by all political parties of the right and left — are to restrict our democratic rights, intimidate French and immigrant workers, create scapegoats, and provide support to the military junta in Algeria.

That is why unions, student organizations, and antiracist and democratic organizations must demand:

Stop the anti-Arab, anti-Islamic campaign!

No to the deportation of undocumented workers!

Halt the "Vigipirate" plan!

Repeal the antiterrorist laws!

Algerian president elected amid war

BY DEREK BRACEY

Algerians voted in presidential elections November 16 under the watchful eye of 200,000 army troops and police. The armed presence sought to prevent protests and counter possible attacks by the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) and other organizations that pressed for a boycott. Government officials claimed a turnout of 12 million in the country of 25 million, about 75 percent of eligible voters.

Liamine Zéroual, a former general, was announced the winner. Zéroual had been appointed president in January 1994 by the army, which has run the country since 1992.

According to official results, he took more than 61 percent of the vote, easily defeating three other candidates approved by the military.

The government hopes to use the elections to legitimize itself in the eyes of working people, establish stability, and end the four-year-old civil war that has claimed the lives of 40,000 people. Zéroual supporters argue that the voter turnout is a victory over the boycott and represents the end of widespread backing

for "Islamic fundamentalists."

The Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), which is banned and whose top leaders are imprisoned, called the boycott along with the National Liberation Front (FLN), the ruling party before the military takeover; the Socialist Forces Front; and the GIA. These groups called the elections a charade because the FIS was legally excluded.

These parties won 80 percent of the vote in the first round of parliamentary elections in December 1991. The FIS, a party whose stated goal is an Islamic republic, won a majority of the seats with 40 percent of the vote.

The military then staged a coup and canceled the election before the second round was due to occur in January 1992. Paris, the former colonial power, backed the takeover fearing that an FIS administration would not be as subservient to French imperialist interests.

Thousands of FIS members were killed or jailed, and the army attacked protests against the coup. The clashes eventually broke into a civil war.

There is no indication the elections will

help the government resolve the conflict. "What is the meaning of a political exercise from which the main political forces in the country are excluded?" Louisa Hanoun, a secular opponent of the government, asked a reporter.

Press reports indicated that many Algerians were intimidated into voting by the massive show of military force and that some were required to produce voter registration cards to obtain other official documents they needed.

Many told the press they voted hoping a way would be found to end the war. Large numbers of people are frustrated with the clashes and the acts of terror by the army and the GIA, including among those who voted for the FIS in 1991.

Authorities reported a heavy turnout among the 5 million Algerians living in France, Germany, and Belgium.

Algerian immigrants in France have been particularly affected in recent months by a crackdown on democratic rights, following a series of bombings there. The government has used the explosions, which have killed seven people and

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